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## CHAPTER XIV

## PARTHIA

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## CHAPTER XV

## FROM THE CONFERENCE OF LUCA TO THE RUBICON

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## CHAPTER XIV

### PARTHIA

#### I. THE EARLY KINGS

WHAT passes for the history of Parthia as derived from classical writers has been truly called a conventional fiction. The Parthian Empire has left no records, except an abundant coinage; but as the coins, before Mithridates III, call every king Arsaces and have to be interpreted from the literary texts, they raise more problems than they solve. Until we reach the history of Rome, an account has to be put together as best it may from scraps collected from many diverse sources, and the margin of uncertainty is considerable. The traditional list and numbering of the Parthian kings during this period, as generally used by numismatists, is unsatisfactory, for it is derived from the classical authors and from conjecture and takes no account of the cuneiform evidence; the list used in this chapter is printed on p. 613, with the traditional list beside it for reference.

The steppe country north of Hyrcania was occupied by a confederacy of three tribes collectively known to Greeks as Dahae; doubtless, like most of the steppe peoples we know, they were a mixed horde, but their leading clans were apparently Iranian and presumably spoke a North Iranian dialect akin to Sogdian. They were not pure nomads, though they had furnished horse-archers

*Note.* For Parthia, the best contemporary evidence consists of the coinages of Parthia, Elymaïs, Characene, and Persis; astronomical and business documents from Babylon and Uruk; information in Ssu-ma-ch'ien, *Shi-Ki*, ch. 123, which embodies Chang-k'ien's Report; and, in Greek, a few inscriptions, the first parchment from Avroman, the document on which Isidore's *Parthian Stations* is founded, and notices preserved by Strabo. Among later material, Trogus-Justin and the fragments of Diodorus supply a kind of narrative, of uncertain value. For the invasion of Crassus two accounts are extant: Dio Cassius, *xl*, 12-30, which represents Livy's lost narrative, and Plutarch's *Life of Crassus*. Dio's account of Carrhae is rhetoric, and the battle must be reconstructed from Plutarch alone. Plutarch occasionally uses Livy; but his main source, which is excellent, is a well-informed Greek of Mesopotamia or Babylonia, who impartially dislikes both Rome and Parthia; his identity is unknown. See further the Bibliography.—For the history of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Parthian kingdoms see the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, chaps. xvii, xxiii.

See Map 14, facing p. 612.

to Alexander; they occupied some oases, one of which, Dihistan, possibly long bore their name, and were known as good fighters on foot. Part of one of their three tribes, the Parni, led in the tradition by two brothers, Arsaces and Tiridates, had before 250 B.C. separated from the rest and moved to the lower Ochus (Tejend); the powerful and semi-independent satrap of Bactria, Diodotus, attempted to bring them under his rule, and to escape him they migrated into the Hyrcanian-Parthian satrapy; there they came into conflict with, and killed, the Seleucid satrap Andragoras (not the Andragoras of the coins), whose name is variously given. Arsaces, afterwards reckoned the founder of the dynasty, is a legendary figure; the founder of the kingdom was Tiridates, who took the name Arsaces, subsequently borne as a family name by all his descendants. Tiridates and three other shadowy monarchs—Artabanus I, Phriapitius, and the son of the latter, Phraates I—fill the period till Mithridates I. Tradition makes Tiridates, perhaps with further support from his tribesmen, reduce part of the Hyrcanian-Parthian satrapy, that is, the later provinces of Astauene, Apavarttikene, and Parthyene. Astauene was seemingly the first conquest; it was the country of the eastern Tapuri, one of the pre-Iranian peoples displaced and broken by the original Iranian invasion; they may have made common cause with the Parni, for Astauene became the homeland of the dynasty. Tiridates' first capital was the fortress of Dara (Dareium) which he built, probably near Abivard in Apavarttikene, facing the desert whence he had come. But the kings of his line were buried at Nisa in Parthyene, a district well known in the Persian sacred books as Nisaea; and he himself was crowned at a town near Kushan in Astauene (also part of the old Nisaea) which afterwards bore his name, Asaak (Arsacia). This marks a certain progress in ideas; to the connection with the desert is added the conciliation of the Mazdean religion of the settled lands. For at Asaak the holy fire, used at the coronation, was kept burning for ever; undoubtedly (though it cannot be said which derived from which) it was connected with the Farmer's Fire, Adar Burzin Mihr on Mt Ravand, one of the three sacred and eternal fires of later Zoroastrianism, the others being the Warrior's Fire in Atropatene and the Priest's Fire in Persis. They correspond to the three aspects of the Mazdean Glory which descended upon the king; and the Farmer's Fire was no bad omen for the commencement of a state whose background was to be the revolt of the countryman against the Greek and Graeco-Babylonian city.

The origin of the name Arsaces is unknown. The Arsacids,



possibly in imitation of the Seleucid pedigree<sup>1</sup>, subsequently claimed descent from Artaxerxes II, whose personal name had been Arsaces; but Arsaces may well have been the first king's family name. Another doubtful matter is the date of Tiridates' coronation, that is, of the formal establishment of the kingdom. The so-called Arsacid Era (p. 592), as used later in Babylonia, was based on the belief that the coronation took place in the year preceding 1 Nisan 247 B.C. (*i.e.* in 248-7), so that this date, from which the Arsacid Era was reckoned, would have been the new king's first New Year festival had he been master of Babylon. We cannot go behind this, and it is difficult to believe that the kings did not keep some sort of record, on the lines of a Hellenistic king's *Journal*; indeed, later tradition speaks of Parthian annals destroyed by the Sassanians.

The establishment of the new kingdom had been favoured by the troubles of Seleucus II (vol. VII, pp. 717-20); but, once his hands were free, Seleucus made an expedition eastward, and Tiridates fled to the Apasiacae (Apa-saka, 'Water-Sacas') of the Caspian steppe, a branch of the great Saca confederacy called Massagetae. Seleucus, however, was recalled by a revolt in Antioch, and Tiridates, allied with Diodotus II of Bactria, recovered his kingdom, although his traditional great victory over Seleucus does not belong to history. The kingdom cannot have expanded farther till after 217, as Antiochus III still had access to the Dahae; but, after the Syrian disaster at Raphia, Tiridates conquered Hyrcania proper, the warm fertile lands along the south-east Caspian, and Comisene, and made the Seleucid city of Hecatompylos his capital. This marks a further progress in ideas: the work of the Greeks was to be used, not destroyed. Either Tiridates or his son Artabanus I then conquered Choarene, and Artabanus for a time perhaps held Ecbatana; but when Antiochus III was able to turn eastward (vol. VIII, p. 1405*q.*) he easily recovered the country west of Comisene. The Parthians however, whether by conquest or friendship, had secured Tapuria, the eastern Elburz, and the Tapuri fought valiantly against Antiochus; but he reconquered Comisene and Hyrcania, which he held till after his defeat by Rome. He left Artabanus the rest of his kingdom as a subject ally, useful against Bactria if required. But at some unknown period, probably after the retirement of Antiochus, Parthia was attacked from the east by the powerful Graeco-Bactrian monarchy, and lost Astauene; the Bactrians made two satrapies of the

<sup>1</sup> The writer in *C. Q.* XXIII, 1929, p. 140.

conquered territory, Tapuria, the upper Atrek, and Traxiane, the valley of the Kashef-Rud<sup>1</sup>. The loss of Astauene must have entailed that of Apavarktike also, which was presumably included in the two Bactrian satrapies; and the ruling Arsaces (? Phriapius) was reduced to Parthyene alone. But the exhaustion of Syria after Magnesia was again Parthia's opportunity; the Arsacids threw off the Seleucid suzerainty, recovered Hyrcania, Comisene, and Choarene, and carried their boundary to Charax, west of the Caspian Gates. Tradition attributes part of this to Phraates I, and adds that he 'conquered' the Mardi of the central Elburz and settled some of them about Charax to guard his frontier; but Mardi also appear later as military settlers in Armenia and Atropatene, and Phraates may have known how to win the goodwill of the pre-Iranian peoples, as did the kings of Elymaïs. The belief that some Arsaces held Babylon in 180-79 arose from a mistake<sup>2</sup>.

The first Arsacids, though wedged in between the Seleucids and the Graeco-Bactrians, had thus made a kingdom; and as their own Parni cannot have been numerous, this implies considerable support from the native inhabitants. Their early conquests, often in hill country, were certainly not made solely by horse-archers. The Dahae were partly footmen, and the Parni were joined by vagrant or deserting mercenaries and by skilled workmen, who made arms for them. Their armies at first probably differed little from Seleucid armies, except for a greater proportion of cavalry; and many who fought for them had learnt their business in Seleucid service.

Their kingdom was universally known to Greeks and Romans as Parthia and its rulers as Parthians; what they called themselves is unknown. The Parni were probably not the first invaders from the desert who settled in Iran<sup>3</sup>, as they were not the last; and it has been suggested that the Parthava of Darius I's inscriptions also might have been recent settlers—they are not mentioned in the Avesta—and that the Parni recognized some kinship with them. But the appellation 'Parthia' for the kingdom is Greek, not native, and merely means that, when Greeks first observed it, the face it turned towards them was that of the old Parthian satrapy; indeed, the homeland of Astauene had probably belonged, not to Parthia, but to Hyrcania.

<sup>1</sup> See W. W. Tarn, *Seleucid-Parthian Studies*, cited p. 582 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> J. N. Strassmaier, *Z.A.* VIII, p. 110 (cf. vol. III, p. 247), on which see F. X. Kugler, *Sternkunde*, II, p. 448, n. 1; *Von Moses bis Paulus*, p. 339.

<sup>3</sup> For a possible earlier settlement of Parni, see vol. III, p. 81.

## II. MITHRIDATES I AND PHRAATES II

Phraates I was succeeded by his brother Mithridates, the creator of the Parthian Empire. The date of his accession is quite uncertain; it has been put as early as 174, as late as 160. It is hardly material, for in any event his activity did not begin till well after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes in 163<sup>1</sup>.

The defeat of Antiochus III at Magnesia in 189 worked considerable changes in Asia. The two Armenian kingdoms, and Atropatene, threw off any suzerainty which he may have exercised. Elymais also revolted under one Kamnaskires, whose affinities are unknown; his capital was the semi-Greek Susa and his coinage as king was purely Greek, but his fighting strength lay in the pre-Iranian Elymaei of the Zagros, unconquered hillmen, who had kinsfolk in the Elburz. Antiochus III, in need of money, attacked Elymais and met his death trying to plunder the temple of Bel. Antiochus Epiphanes subsequently attempted to restore the position in the east, but his attack on Elymais also failed, and on his way to reduce Parthia he died at Gabae (vol. VIII, p. 514). Kamnaskires annexed Gabiene and took the title 'Victorious'; on the south his kingdom touched the Persian Gulf, which probably means that he held Seleucia on the Erythraean Sea. Hyspaosines son of Sagdodonacus, Epiphanes' Iranian governor in Mesene (Chaldaea), also revolted on his death and made a little kingdom, Characene, at the head of the Persian Gulf, which extended up the Tigris to Apamea and embraced the Greek cities on the west of the Gulf (the 'parts about the Erythraean Sea'), with some suzerainty over the neighbouring Mesenite Arabs. He also refounded Antioch at the Tigris mouth, damaged by floods, as his capital Charax (Kerak), rebuilding it on an artificial embankment. He must have claimed to be in the Seleucid succession, for during his brief rule in Babylon that city, though it naturally dropped the Arsacid Era (p. 592), dated, not by his reign, but by the Seleucid Era alone<sup>2</sup>. On the death of Antiochus Eupator in 162/1 Timarchus, satrap of Media, revolted and declared himself independent, and Persis also broke away from the Seleucids, if it had not done so earlier. Dim stories of fighting in Persis remain; the result was that the priest-kings of Persepolis, who had retained some quasi-autonomy under the Seleucids

<sup>1</sup> As Timarchus in Media copied the coinage of Eucratides of Bactria (*Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 457; cf. Volume of Plates iii, 14 a), Parthia in 162 was no serious obstacle to inter-communication.

<sup>2</sup> Tablet published by Pinches, *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, IV, p. 131.

and had coined from about 250, made themselves kings of Persis with the title of Malik (Shah). Whatever Power held Media and Babylon was now cut off from the Persian Gulf by a ring of states, Characene, Elymaïs, Persis.

This was the position when, somewhere before 160, Mithridates began his career of conquest. He first took Media up to the Zagros from Timarchus and annexed it to Parthia, making his general Bagasis satrap and doubling his own strength; Timarchus he left to be finished off by Demetrius I of Syria (vol. VIII, p. 519). Then he attacked Eucratides of Bactria, now weakened by his long duel with Demetrius of the Punjab<sup>1</sup>, and retook the lost provinces, Tapuria and Traxiane, bringing his frontier back to the Arius. His next conquest was Elymaïs, where he secured 10,000 talents from the temples of Athena and Nanaia; as he had to take Seleuceia on the Hedyphon, the Greek element probably supported Kamnaskires. For two generations Elymaïs unwillingly remained a Parthian fief; as her coinage was in abeyance, it is not known how she was ruled. Persis became, and for nearly four centuries remained, Parthia's vassal, and Parthian influence is reflected on her coinage; the reason why her monarchy was never abolished is unknown. Eastward Mithridates extended his rule to the Hydaspes in Gedrosia (? Purali), Virgil's *Medus Hydaspes*, a name which gave rise to a legend that he made conquests in India. It is not known what happened to the southern provinces of the Bactrian kingdom; but if he held Gedrosia he must at least have taken Seistan and so much of Aria as gave him the great road northward from Seistan by Herat to Parthyene.

The conquest of Elymaïs brought him to the gates of Babylonia, a land of ancient cities, where the wealth of the eastern trade-routes poured into Seleuceia and the prestige of old renown clung to the name of Babylon; though Antiochus Epiphanes had refounded Babylon as a Greek city, the native element, whose centre was E-sagila, still kept continuity with the past. The Seleucid Demetrius II was fighting for his crown against the usurper Tryphon, and late in 142 Mithridates annexed Babylonia, though perhaps not Seleuceia. His conquest, on the strength of an astronomical table, has been put in July 141<sup>2</sup>, the first dating in the Arsacid Era being believed to be 108 Ars.<sup>3</sup> (140-39 B.C.); but a contract exists dated 107 Ars.<sup>4</sup> (141-40 B.C.), and Mithridates must

<sup>1</sup> See *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 446.

<sup>2</sup> See F. X. Kugler, *Von Moses bis Paulus*, p. 339 (S.H. 108); W. Kolbe, *Syrische Beiträge*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> F. X. Kugler, *Sternkunde*, II, p. 446.

<sup>4</sup> O. Schroeder, *Kontrakte der Seleukidenzeit*, no. 37; dated 107 Ars. = 171 Sel.

therefore have been master of Babylon some time before 1 Nisan (March–April) 141 B.C., the day on which 107 Ars. began (p. 593); Demetrius' last known date in Babylon is in February 142. Mithridates subsequently annexed Adiabene (Assyria), returned thence to Babylonia, and early in July 141 entered Seleuceia (if the broken name we have be Seleuceia), whether peaceably or otherwise is unknown. He now held Babylonia and the Tigris frontier to the northward, though northern Mesopotamia remained Seleucid, and in 140 he appears in a Babylonian document as 'King of Kings<sup>1</sup>, a revival of the old Achaemenid title (vol. iv. p. 185).

Mithridates is represented as a moderate and conciliatory ruler, and his assumption after he conquered Babylonia of the title Philhellene—a regular title of his successors after Phraates II—shows that he recognized the value of Greek co-operation; but the Greek cities remained loyal at heart to the Seleucid, and called on Demetrius for help. Demetrius could not relinquish Babylonia without a struggle; also its reconquest might strengthen him for the civil war in Syria. He secured Bactria, Elymaïs, and Persis as allies, which took time, for his envoys must have gone across Parthia in disguise. In December 141 a Bactrian invasion had already caused Mithridates to fly to Hyrcania, while the Elymaeans were marching on Apamea on the Silhu<sup>2</sup>; these dates are further evidence that Mithridates took Babylonia much earlier than July 141. Demetrius himself, leaving his competent wife Cleopatra Thea to hold Antioch against Tryphon, invaded Babylonia late in 141 or early in 140; he won some victories and recovered Babylon. But Mithridates was too strong for the coalition, and, having first driven out the Bactrians, he defeated and captured Demetrius (late 140 or early 139); he recognized his captive's value, kept him in honourable captivity in Hyrcania, and married him to his daughter Rhodogune. Elymaïs and Persis again became Parthia's vassals; whether Mithridates also subdued Characene is not known.

This was his last exploit; he must have died about 138, as 139–8 is the last date on his dated tetradrachms. The man who found a little kingdom and left an empire extending from the Caspian to the Persian Gulf must have had qualities; Greek writers schedule his virtues, and Arrian gives him a small list of superlatives

<sup>1</sup> J. N. Strassmaier, *Z.A.* III, p. 129, no. 1 = J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, *Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden*, no. 94; dated 108 Ars.

<sup>2</sup> See F. X. Kugler, *Von Moses bis Paulus*, p. 342 (S.P. I, 176).

modelled on his famous eulogy of Alexander<sup>1</sup>. He is said to have collected the best laws from every people in his empire, which may point to an attempted codification of Iranian law, after the pattern of Hammurabi's code; whether he began that reorganization of the provinces which appears under Mithridates II is unknown.

His son Phraates II was a minor, and his mother Ri . . nu became regent<sup>2</sup>; he took the Persian title 'King of the Lands,' but not apparently that of 'King of Kings.' Nothing is known of his reign till the year 130, when his kingdom had to encounter two great invasions simultaneously. The reigning Seleucid Antiochus Sidetes, brother of Demetrius II, had shown himself a strong and tolerant ruler; and, after disposing of Tryphon, recovering Judaea, and settling Syria, he set out to reconquer the East. He started early in 130 by the route east of the Tigris; Phraates was presumably in Hyrcania, but Antiochus, who had with him his son Seleucus and a daughter of Demetrius, defeated Phraates' generals in three battles and recovered Babylonia; the last known cuneiform document from Seleucid Babylon is dated in June 130. Unfortunately we know nothing of the cause of his success, the tradition only supplying some absurd figures; but the Greek cities would keep him well-informed, and Mithridates' conquest of the hill state of Elymaïs shows that the Parthians were not yet a people of horse-archers, though doubtless they were stronger in cavalry than the Syrian king. Antiochus next recovered Media, and demanded from Phraates tribute and the cession of everything except the old Hyrcanian-Parthian satrapy; it seemed as if he was to restore the empire of Antiochus III. But the winter was fatal to him. He wintered at Ecbatana, and had to divide his army among the neighbouring towns, mostly native; they disliked the burden and resented the conduct of his general Athenaeus; Phraates was able to arrange a simultaneous rising against the Syrians, and Antiochus, hurrying to the help of the nearest detachment, was defeated and killed. Phraates sent home his body in a silver coffin, and Syria mourned her last great king. Seleucus remained in honourable captivity in Parthia, and Phraates married Demetrius' daughter; but in the stress of the conflict he had released Demetrius to raise trouble as a pretender in Syria (see vol. VIII, p. 530 *sq.*). Phraates' absence from the seat of war in 130 must mean that the Sacas had crossed his frontier; tradition says that he staved off the invasion for a moment by taking their vanguard into

<sup>1</sup> Assuming that Suidas, *Arsaces*, refers to Mithridates I.

<sup>2</sup> On the date of this document (A. T. Clay, *Babylonian Records*, II, no. 53) see E. H. Minns, *J.H.S.* xxxv, p. 34.

his pay, which is possible. But after Antiochus' death he had to meet them seriously; he attempted to use Antiochus' mercenaries, who turned against him, and in 129 or 128 he fell in battle with the Sacas, and his kingdom lay open to the nomad hordes.

### III. THE SACAS AND MITHRIDATES II<sup>1</sup>

The various tribes collectively called Sacae by Persians and Greeks (though Greek writers often wrongly use the term 'Scythian') were at this time a very numerous people; it seems that their countries were over-populated and in a condition of unstable equilibrium. Three main bodies of the race have been made out. The Amyrgian Sacas of the Pamir, who had once held, but had lost, Ferghana, the 'Amyrgian plain' of Hecataeus, do not come into this story. The Sacaraucae (Saka Rawaka) lived north of the Jaxartes; possibly their original seat was the Ili valley. The great Saca horde or confederacy called Massagetæ held the Caspian steppes north of the Dahae, including the lower Oxus and Choras-mia; they extended northward to the country of the Aorsi, who from the Ural river stretched eastward round the Aral, probably to the Jaxartes. The Sacas themselves, who spoke a North Iranian language, were probably of Iranian origin; but the Sacaraucae, if they be Chang-k'ien's Kang-k'iu, as is likely, seem also to have contained Turki elements, while the Massagetæ were thoroughly mixed; their Saca clans were ruling agricultural peoples in the oases and primitive fish-eaters in the river deltas (vol. III, p. 194).

The nomad invasions which destroyed the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom and transformed Parthia were the end of a movement of the peoples of Central Asia which started in Kan-su (North-west China) in the early part of the second century, when the Hiung-nu (Huns), a Turki horde with a blonde admixture, finally defeated and drove out a rival horde, the Yueh-chi. The Yueh-chi were largely the Indo-European Tochari, a blue-eyed people whose speech was akin to Latin and Celtic and whose journey from Russia to China can perhaps be traced by grave-mounds; but they were ruled by Turki clans, the Arsi (Greek Asii) and the Kuši (Kushans) being known. The trek across Asia of the defeated Yueh-chi has often been described; it suffices here to say that on the way they displaced a people called Sak or Sok in the Chinese accounts, doubtless the Sacaraucae, and drove them west and south; in 128 the Yueh-chi were in the Samarcand country, and

<sup>1</sup> The references and reasons for much in this section are given in the writer's *Seleucid-Parthian Studies*, Proc. Brit. Acad. 1930.

those of the Sacaraucae (Kang-k'iu) who had not invaded Parthia were strung out through western Sogdiana and across the Jaxartes, the northern branch being subject to the Huns and those in Sogdiana to the Yueh-chi. These movements had set the whole steppe country in motion; Greek rule in Bactria ended about 135, and the nomads subsequently invaded Parthia. The invaders of Parthia included part of the Sacaraucae, but the larger body must have been furnished by the Massagetae; doubtless they swept along with them parts of other peoples, as (from their geographical position) the Dahae; it was a general upheaval, but we can only refer to the invaders collectively as Sacas. All the nomad peoples mentioned here were horse-archers, and the Chinese reckoned that each family supplied one horseman to the general levy; even if the Chinese figures be high—the Sacaraucae (Kang-k'iu) have 90,000 horse, later 120,000—their military strength in proportion to population was far greater than that of the settled peoples. The Yueh-chi, who soon after 128 occupied Bactria proper and subsequently faced towards India, took no part in the invasion of Parthia; but it was the visit paid to them in 128 by the Chinese Chang-k'ien, general and diplomat, which gave that shrewd observer his first knowledge of Parthia, a knowledge supplemented by the reports of the lieutenants he sent out in 115.

The death of Phraates II left Parthia open to the nomads; of the brief reign of his uncle and successor Artabanus II nothing is known, save that it must have consisted of efforts to check the invasion. The Sacas entered Parthia proper and occupied Tapuria and Traxiane; here they must have divided, as the Persian desert and the great roads dictated, one body going westward, north of the desert, and one going southward, east of it. The former body presumably overran Hyrcania and Comisene<sup>1</sup>. Tradition mentions a Saca raid west of the Tigris, and a dark-skinned community of idolators (? Indians) existing in Armenia in A.D. 304 believed that their ancestors had fled thither before the (Saca) chief Dinashké. Beyond this, however, the westward invasion did not go; Artabanus may have been successful in checking it, and may even have recovered parts of Hyrcania-Parthia. But the larger body of the invaders went south, following the road by Herat to the Hamun lake and occupying Aria and Seistan; they founded a kingdom on the lower Helmund (Sacastene) in what had been

<sup>1</sup> Isidore's source says there was no city in Comisene, which probably means that Hecatompylos was destroyed (it was rebuilt later), while the nomenclature of Hyrcania in Ptolemy is completely different from that of the earlier period, and a Saca town occurs there, Ptol. iv, 9, 7.



the Seleucid province of Paraetacene, and occupied Candahar; later this flood was to pour eastward into India<sup>1</sup>.

Such roughly was the position when about 124 Artabanus fell in battle with the invaders and his place was taken by his gifted son Mithridates II; probably the Parthia which Rome knew was more his creation than that of his uncle Mithridates I. His first preoccupation, apparently, was less with the Sacas than with affairs in Babylonia; probably, as will be seen, he entrusted the situation east of the desert to other hands till his rear was secure. When Phraates II went eastward to meet the nomads he had left as his governor in Babylonia one Himerus, a Hyrcanian, represented as cruel and vicious. Phraates himself had threatened Seleucia with savage punishment for something done to his general Pninus during Sidetes' invasion, a threat never carried out; but Himerus' business was to reduce Babylonia to order again after the disturbance, and he inflicted great damage on Babylon and sold many Babylonians as slaves in Media. This reference to Media implies that he had some authority there; and this, added to Diodorus' statement that he was king of the Parthians, may mean that during the troubled reign of Artabanus he was a rival king in the west. Numismatists assign to him a coin dated in 124/3<sup>2</sup> (which *might* belong to Mithridates II) and believe that he adopted the title 'Victorious,' presumably with reference to the capture of Babylon. The one thing certain is that he had a war with Hyspaosines of Characene and that Hyspaosines was king in Babylon in 127 and 126<sup>3</sup>; possibly the Greek element invoked his aid against Himerus, but it is difficult to see whence he obtained the necessary military strength, unless Elymais aided him. Whether Himerus' capture of Babylon preceded or terminated Hyspaosines' rule cannot be said. But if he was king at Mithridates' accession Mithridates made short work of him, for by 122 he had recovered Babylon and reduced Characene to vassalhood; a series of bronze coins of his dated 122/1 are overstruck on Hyspaosines' money, which with Parthian kings signifies military conquest<sup>4</sup>.

This left him free to turn eastward. The broad outline is that the Parthians recovered Seistan, making Sacastene a vassal province, and took and ruled Candahar, perhaps another Saca state; they recovered Aria, and all Parthia up to the Arius boundary; finally they captured Merv, which was to remain Parthian. Chang-k'ien's Report, which incorporates the information he collected

<sup>1</sup> E. J. Rapson in *Camb. Hist. India*, I, p. 567; E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Volume of Plates iv, 8, g.

<sup>3</sup> Tablet cited p. 578, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Volume of Plates iv, 8, h-k.

in 115, makes Mithridates' kingdom stretch along the bank of the Oxus and border to the north on the An't-sai (Aorsi) of the Aral, which doubtless means that he was overlord of the Caspian steppes up to where the Oxus entered the Aral, that is, of the Massagetae. One might guess that the Parthian arms struck at the centre of the long line held by the Sacas and rolled up the two ends, towards Candahar and towards Merv; the northern body were driven back on the steppes, the southern eastward to India. The northern campaign can be followed in the 'campaign' coins, a series unlike any other Parthian coins; five are known, two with the legend ΚΑΤΑΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΑ<sup>1</sup> and three bearing the names of Aria, Traxiane, and Merv—medals of conquest—which illustrate the Parthian progress northward<sup>2</sup>. Numismatists seem certain that these coins were not struck by Mithridates II and cannot be earlier than his reign, and so assign them to a mythical successor 'Artabanus II'; but as this Artabanus is unknown alike to Greek tradition and Babylonian records<sup>3</sup>, and as Merv was Parthian by 115, the solution seems to be that they were struck by a joint-king: Mithridates, whose reign began with war on two fronts, copied the Seleucid practice and appointed a joint-king in the east, while he dealt with Babylonia. Doubtless the two subsequently co-operated. The coins of the joint-king are not part of the Parthian regal coinage, but were struck to pay his troops and record his victories.

Parthia deserved well of western civilization for damming the nomad flood. The result of these campaigns was that the Massagetae were broken, their strongest elements having passed on into India; they partially recovered, but their fate was to be absorption by the Aorsi and thus ultimately to become part of the Alan horde. But the Sacaraucae who had remained in Sogdiana gained an accession of strength, probably from their returning tribesmen; they were able to free themselves from the Yueh-chi and establish their capital at Bokhara, and a generation later could again interfere in Parthia. But for the rest of Mithridates' reign Parthia had peace in the east; he received, with much pomp, an embassy from the Han emperor Wu-ti, and the road was opened for the inflow into Parthia of caravan trade from China through Chinese

<sup>1</sup> Dr G. F. Hill has suggested that this is not *κατὰ στρατείαν*, 'on campaign' (cf. *O.G.I.S.* 225), but is the substantive of *καταστρατεύομαι*, 'offensive campaign.'

<sup>2</sup> Volume of Plates iv, 8, c, d.

<sup>3</sup> Because of an error in a proper name (Tigranes for Mithridates) Gutschmid shifted part of Trogus' *Prol.* xli to xlii, thus making the Artabanus there named the successor, not of Tiridates I, but of Mithridates II.

Turkestan along the subsequently famous Silk Route, a development for which the main credit belongs to Chang-k'ien. Parthia now became of international importance, for in 92 B.C. Mithridates sent an envoy to Sulla; his reign thus saw touch secured with both China and Rome. In the south he drew tighter the suzerainty over Persis, and the great Zoroastrian fire-altar was replaced on her coins by the little altar of Parthia, known from Arsacid seals<sup>1</sup>. In the west he secured Mesopotamia and carried his boundary to the Euphrates, but a war with the queen of some Arab tribe, Laodice, who was supported by Antiochus IX Cyzicenus, is all that is known of the conquest; in 87 his governor intervened in the chronic civil war in Syria and captured Demetrius III Eukairos. His Mesopotamia included three vassal kingdoms: Adiabene and Gordyene (the Carduchi), which had probably asserted their independence during the general Seleucid break-up, and Osrhoëne, a little principality round Edessa; it had been formed in 132 by an Iranian, Osrhoës, probably a Seleucid governor, who in 127 had been succeeded, or ousted, by an Arab, Abdu bar Maz'ûr, ancestor of a long line. Probably from Zeugma to Nicephorium the Euphrates was Mithridates' frontier, but from Nicephorium to Babylonia he held the Peraea west of the river (Parapotamia), his boundary towards Syria being the desert. By 108 he had taken the title 'King of Kings,' which he used regularly; in 88 he had three queens, his paternal half-sisters Siake and Azate, and Automa daughter of Tigranes of Armenia<sup>2</sup>. He carried out, or completed, the Parthian provincial organization, and made a survey of his kingdom on the lines of the Seleucid survey, the 'Asiatic Stations' mentioned by Strabo<sup>3</sup>. Mithridates' dealings with Armenia will be noticed later.

But the end of his reign saw troubles in his kingdom. He was alive in 87, for Demetrius Eukairos was sent to him as a prisoner,

<sup>1</sup> Volume of Plates iv, 8, *m, n*.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Rostovtzeff has suggested in *Yale Classical Studies*, II, 1930, pp. 41 *sq.*, that the Avroman parchments are dated by the Arsacid Era. There are strong arguments for and against this view; it seems best to retain the Seleucid dating until a Greek document be found certainly dated by the Arsacid Era alone.

<sup>3</sup> xv, 723; see Kiessling, *s.v. Hekatompylos* in P.W. col. 2794. Bits of the Seleucid survey may be imbedded in the Peutinger Table; cf. Tomaschek, *Wien S.B.* 1883, p. 145. The Parthian survey was the basis of Isidore's 'Parthian Stations,' for though Isidore introduces later historical notices he is using a survey made after Parthia acquired Merv and before she lost Candahar, *i.e.* between 115 and somewhere about 75; the variant distances between Isidore and earlier writers given in Pliny may reflect the two surveys.

and Demetrius' last dated coin is 88/7; but in 89 Gotarzes I was king in Babylon, which probably means that he had seized power there in 90, though as Mithridates was king in Kurdistan in November 88 we may suppose Gotarzes only held Babylonia, especially as his wife Asibatum is only called *bilit* (Lady) instead of the usual *sarrat* (Queen). Possibly Mithridates had never really secured Babylonia's willing allegiance. A period of considerable disturbance followed. Gotarzes' known dates are 89, 88, and 87; in 86 and perhaps 85<sup>1</sup> an unknown Arsaces, who *might* be Orodes I, is king in Babylon; by 80 the crown has passed to Orodes I (really Hyrodes), but whether he called himself 'King of Kings' has been doubted<sup>2</sup>. About 77 the Sacaraucae again intervened in Parthia and brought to the throne an old man, Sinatruces, who reigned till 70; again there is a doubt if he was 'King of Kings.'<sup>3</sup> This disturbed period ended with Phraates III, but the classical tradition has two well-attested dates for his accession, 70 and 66. There was however in 68 an Arsaces ruling in Babylonia whose wife Pi-ir(?) -us-ta-na-a is seemingly called Lady, not Queen<sup>4</sup>, and whose position therefore was presumably similar to that of Gotarzes; and the explanation of the *two* classical dates may be that Phraates was crowned in 70 but was not king in Babylonia, *i.e.* master of his Empire, till 66. In 64 Phraates is 'King of Kings,' and we again have an established line.

Plutarch calls this period one of civil war, and the disturbance was reflected in large territorial losses. Elymaïs had by 82 secured absolute independence under Kamnaskires II, an independence which his dynasty long maintained. The suzerainty over the Caspian steppes and the Massagetae was not held, though the Oxus was still the boundary between Parthia and the Sacaraucae (Bokhara) and Merv remained Parthian. More important was the loss of Seistan and Arachosia, where somewhere about 75 there was formed that 'Indo-Parthian' kingdom which Chinese writers call Woo-yi-shan-li; its kings ultimately ruled on both sides of the Indus and attained considerable power. Further movements in the East lie outside the scope of this chapter, and with Phraates III the story of Parthia shifts to the western front.

<sup>1</sup> If the *Arsacid* dating in Reissner, Hymn 55 = no. 4 in M. I. Hussey, *A. J. Sem. Languages*, xxiii, p. 142, be the correct one.

<sup>2</sup> J. N. Strassmaier, *Z.A.* III, p. 129, no. 9, read *Sar Sarrani*; E. Schrader, *S.B. Berlin*, 1890, p. 1326, doubted the reading, cf. Minns, *J.H.S.* xxxv, p. 35. Kugler, *Sternkunde*, II, p. 447, no. 26, now supports Strassmaier.

<sup>3</sup> If the Arsaces of the document dated 172 Ars. = 236 Sel. in Strassmaier, *Z.A.* VIII, p. 112, be Sinatruces. Minns and Kugler, *l.c.*, differ as to the title.

<sup>4</sup> Following Kugler's reading, *l.c.* no. 30.

## IV. THE PARTHIANS AND THEIR EMPIRE

The stages by which the nomad Parni became the Parthian aristocracy are unknown; they brought nothing with them from the desert but their military ability and their own tolerant indifference, which occasionally recalls the great Mongols. It is however fairly certain that they were Iranians. Their kings' names, with the possible exception of Sinatruces, were all Iranian, drawn from figures of the Mazdean religion; no trace of Turki speech occurs; and even the Sassanids, while on religious grounds they attempted to forget the Parthian interlude and go back to the Achaemenids, nevertheless honoured as an old aristocracy the seven great 'Pahlavi' families, notably the Surēn, Karēn, and Aspahbed, perhaps because these were copied from the seven Persian families. But the Parni were definitely North Iranian, perhaps nearer akin to the Sacas than to the Persians. Their kingdom represented the triumph of the north over the south; but the south they could neither absorb nor really hold, and it was ultimately to overthrow them.

The Arsacid kings were absolute rulers, but the devotion of their followers was devotion to the family, not the individual. The monarchy was elective in the Arsacid house. There were two councils, one of the aristocracy, called by Greeks *probouloi*, and one of wise men and Magi; the councils jointly chose the king, who was by no means always the eldest son. Next to the king stood the seven great families, the right of crowning him being at this time vested in the Surēn<sup>1</sup>; by the first century Greek court titles like Kinsmen, Friends, Bodyguards had been adopted; great feudatories were called *skeptouchoi*. That the principal nobles, who supplied the provincial governors, were called Megistanes is only a deduction from analogy. In Armenia, which was a copy of Parthia, there stood above the governors the four great Wardens of the Marches, representing the four cardinal points; as a relief remains of the four quarters of heaven doing obeisance to Mithridates II<sup>2</sup> (which may mean that, like Cyrus, he took the Babylonian title 'King of the Four Regions'), there must have been similar Wardens in Parthia, representing upon earth the four 'Regent' stars of the Avesta who guarded the four quarters of heaven; they were seemingly called *batesa* or *bistakes*, the same word<sup>3</sup>. The kings had provided their Parnian

<sup>1</sup> Surenas is not a title, but a family name like Arsaces.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> See M. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* pp. 51 sq. on this title.

followers with estates—that of the Karēn was near Nihawand in Media—but part of the aristocracy of the Empire must have been the original Iranian landowners; whether any discrimination was made between the two classes is unknown.

Of their society we know little. Polygamy was practised; the kings married their paternal half-sisters, as even some Greek laws permitted, or princesses of other lines, and their queens are sometimes named with them in the dating of documents, and could act as regents; the Greek statement that the Arsacids were sons of Ionian courtesans merely shows that the usual term of abuse in the East is two thousand years old. The queens with non-Iranian names might be daughters of hill-chieftains, another link with the pre-Iranian peoples. Art shows the king's headdress changing from the pointed Saca cap to the domed tiara brodered with pearls<sup>1</sup>; we see the nobles with frizzed hair and long coats of mail, the women with elaborate coiffures<sup>2</sup>; the royal ointment used at the coronation contained 27 ingredients. The nobles ate sparingly and drank heavily, palm wine being favoured; the spacing out of Parthian houses at Babylon, and a chance fragment of Apollodorus, may indicate a fondness for gardens. They kept certain traits of the desert, like blood-brotherhood, and lived largely on horseback. The occupations of a gentleman were hunting and fighting; if a king lived otherwise, he found little favour. Roman authors naturally accuse them of faithlessness, while Josephus (*Ant.* xviii [9, 3], 328 *sq.*) says they always kept solemn engagements; history rather justifies the Jewish writer.

They were a silent race, quicker to act than to talk. Whatever their original dialect, they adopted that form of middle Persian called Pahlavik (Parthian Pahlavi), an ideographic system written in Aramaic, its ideographic methods being borrowed from cuneiform; it was akin to Parsik (Sassanian Pahlavi), and the roots of both systems have been traced to Achaemenid times. Parsik was represented at this time by the legends on the Persis coinage, and definitely belonged to South Iran, while Pahlavik faced northward; both Armenian and Sogdian borrowed freely from it. A lease from Avroman has now supplied a specimen of Pahlavik of the first century B.C.; a later example is the long inscription from Paikuli. The Arsacid records, if there were any, have perished; the Parthians were not literary, and have not left a line or an inscription about themselves; but the influence of Parthian writing on other languages and its effect on the *machinery* of literature shows there was more actual writing than we should suppose.

<sup>1</sup> Volume of Plates, iv, 8, *a*; 10, *e*, *f*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* iv, 18; 22, *a*.

Their writing material was parchment; the mass production of the Pergamum slave factories at first helped here, but later they must have manufactured for themselves; several parchments from Doura and Avroman are known. Parchment penetrated Babylonia and ultimately killed the cuneiform; a 'parchment scribe' is recorded at Uruk. (See also vol. VIII p. 665 n. 1). But more important was the effect on China. The first thing Chang-k'ien noticed about Parthia was that the people wrote on parchment from left to right; the convenience of this made the Chinese dissatisfied with their own writing materials, silk and split bamboo, and perhaps led to the achievement of Ts'ai Lun in A.D. 105—the invention of paper.

The Arsacids entered a ready-made kingdom, and had only to take over the Seleucid administration; and as their peculiar tolerance made them content to utilize Greek work they never created a really strong administration of their own. When the rest of the Seleucid Empire dissolved into a number of Succession States they were satisfied with exercising a loose suzerainty over the others as vassals; later times called the Arsacids 'kings of the sub-kingdoms.' What Parthian suzerainty meant is unknown; neither military contingents nor tribute from their vassals are heard of, though tribute there must have been. Beside the great vassals, there were petty dynasts in the Zagros and doubtless elsewhere. The provinces not under vassal kings were governed directly as satrapies, but the governor's title is unknown; possibly these provinces too were officially called 'kingdoms.' Their number varied with the fluctuations of the empire's boundaries; Pliny's eighteen belongs to a given moment only. The big Seleucid satrapies were broken up into smaller units; thus Parthia-Hyrcania became five provinces, Apavartikene, Astauene, Parthyene, Hyrcania, Comisene; Media became five; and so on. This subdivision was common to every Succession State, with the possible exception of Persis. Elymais contained several eparchies, Bactria several satrapies, Cappadocia ten generalships; the subdivision in Armenia was drastic; even kingdoms like Adiabene and Characene, themselves only fractions of a Seleucid satrapy, exhibit the same phenomenon. Possibly all this subdivision went back to a common source in Seleucid organization; the provinces of Parthia and Elymais may represent pre-existing subdivisions of the Seleucid satrapies, administrative units intermediate (contrary to the usual belief) between satrapy and hyparchy<sup>1</sup>. The Parthians kept the Seleucid hyparchies, and the land-registers based on the hyparchy. For registration purposes a hyparchy might contain so

<sup>1</sup> See *Seleucid-Parthian Studies* (above, p. 582).

many *stathmoi*, post-stations on a main road, possibly fortified, with the villages grouped round the *stathmoi*; a vineyard in Kurdistan is described as in the village of Kopanes belonging to the *stathmos* Baithabarta in the hyparchy of Baiseira; in a Mesopotamian hyparchy later no *stathmos* occurs. The Parthians planted military colonies, as, for example, the Mardi at Charax in Media and the Romans at Merv; the Avroman leases, in which non-Iranian names occur, pre-suppose a planned settlement.

The kings must have had officials and secretaries who understood Greek, if only for diplomatic purposes; besides, they had many Greek subjects, and Greek was a common medium of commerce. Doubtless some Parthian nobles and governors knew Greek; Crassus' opponent Surenas spoke Latin<sup>1</sup>; an occasional Greek word may have been used, like 'diadem', which passed from Parthian into Sogdian and later into Mongolian<sup>2</sup>. But to speak a language for purposes of utility does not imply the adoption of the things that language represents, and there is no sign that kings or nobles were really touched by Greek culture; they never even took Greek names, and the hard-worked story that Greek plays were acted at the court is a mere mistake. They were simply ready to take what their Greek subjects could give—to use them as engineers and artists, purveyors of amusements, creators of wealth. The coinage illustrates this<sup>3</sup>. It is a Greek coinage, on the Attic standard like the Seleucid, which uses (though it alters) Seleucid types, dates by the Seleucid Era and (later) by the Macedonian month, employs the Greek language, and gives the kings masses of Greek cult names drawn from the coinage of Syria or Bactria; the persistence, for example, of the Seleucid elephant as a type shows that it was struck for the government in Greek city-mints, for Parthians never used elephants. But things like the adoption by Mithridates I of a *new* title, Philhellene, must be due to the king, who therefore exercised a certain control. The drachmae bore the king's portrait on the obverse, and on the reverse an archer, beardless and wearing the well-known Saka cap, seated on the omphalos like the Seleucid Apollo; the early kings are beardless, but from Mithridates I all the kings have beards, and under Mithridates II the golden throne of the Arsacids replaces the omphalos as the archer's seat; tetradrachms first appear with Mithridates I. The view has indeed been advanced<sup>4</sup> that no king

<sup>1</sup> This seems to follow from Plutarch, *Crassus*, 30.

<sup>2</sup> B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 573. <sup>3</sup> Volume of Plates iv, 8, *a-l*; 10, *a-f*.

<sup>4</sup> J. de Morgan's view (see Bibliography) is supported by M. Dayet, *Aréthuse*, 1925, p. 63, and A. de la Fuye, *Délégation en Perse*, xx, 1928, p. 55.



coined before Mithridates I; but the supposition that the early coins are a sacerdotal issue of his reign made by a hypothetical 'Scythian' priesthood is, historically, too fanciful to accept, while the more worn condition of the 'beardless' coins in the Mandali hoard witnesses to their earlier date. The coinages of Elymaïs and Characene both begin with kings clean-shaven in the Hellenistic fashion, and the Iranian beard only appears as Greek influences weaken; either the early Parthian kings also shaved in imitation of the Seleucids, or their Greek artists thought it proper so to represent them.

The centre of Parthian power was populous Media, and during this period Ecbatana was the capital and summer residence; the kings wintered in Babylonia, but the foundation of Ctesiphon as a capital is later. Rhagae-Europus was renamed Arsacia, as was some town (Asaak) in Astauene; but probably the Parthians had already too many towns for their liking, and during this period they built nothing but Hatra in the desert, if indeed they did build it. The first style at Hatra approximates to the dated Parthian building at Ashur (Libba) of 88 B.C.; it was built as the frontier town on the route from Babylonia to Nisibis after Nisibis and Singara became Armenian. There was no Hellenistic planning about the city of Sanatruk the giant; it was an Arab town, in the centre of which stood a walled quadrangle, probably fortified, containing the Parthian buildings and palace; a similar quadrangle enclosed the Parthian buildings at Ashur. Building inscriptions<sup>1</sup> assign the palace at Hatra to 'King Orodes'; whether this means Orodes I or II of Parthia, or a vassal king, is an unsolved riddle. The buildings at Hatra and Ashur explain why the Arsacids never made Seleuceia their capital; there was no room for their quadrangle in the densely populated great city.

The calendar was complicated by the use of two eras, the Seleucid (in both its forms) and the so-called Arsacid. The Arsacid kings on their coinage employed the Macedonian Seleucid Era beginning 1 Dios and the Macedonian months, as seemingly did Elymaïs, Characene, Adiabene, and Seleuceia; the Pahlavik parchment from Avroman shows, however, that the Persian months remained in use in the country districts, as they did in Cappadocia and Armenia. Babylonia had her own version of the Seleucid Era beginning 1 Nisan, with the Babylonian months; to this, after the Parthian conquest, was added the Arsacid Era. This era assumed that the first full year of the first Arsaces had begun

<sup>1</sup> See E. Herzfeld, *Z.D.M.G.* LXVIII, 1914, p. 661.

1 Nisan Sel. 65 (247 B.C.), and was calculated from that date; thus the first full year of Mithridates I at Babylon, beginning 1 Nisan Sel. 171 (141 B.C.), was called Ars. 107. This year, 107, is the first known dating in the Arsacid Era, and, except for one cuneiform document (p. 580, n. 1), possibly due to a scribe's omission, that era never occurs alone but always as a double dating with the Seleucid, usually in Babylonia; a double dated loan contract is now known from Doura<sup>1</sup>, but the Seleucid dating governs the transaction. The origin of the Arsacid Era is unknown; for though Greek documents sometimes call it 'as the king reckons,' no instance of its use by any Arsacid king has so far come to light. Nothing prevents the belief that these kings may have used it from the start for their official records, if they kept any; but it also seems possible that it was merely invented at Babylon after the Parthian conquest, to enable Babylon to preserve her old custom of dating each year by the ruler who actually had the power to take the hands of Bel at the New Year festival without having to abandon her newer custom, so convenient for commerce, of dating business documents by the Seleucid Era.

For the country people of Iran the Arsacids signified little but a change of rulers. 'Parthian' art or trade means the art or trade of their subjects; the Parnian nobility did not carve reliefs or bargain with merchants; indeed their total indifference to the sea, which (except the Caspian) they never effectively reached, is most striking. In one way only was the common man affected. He now had rulers who were ready to profess his own Mazdean religion; doubtless this wise policy accounted for much of the support the kings gained at the start. What the Parthian religion really was is hard to say. They brought with them from the desert household gods for domestic worship; they probably, like the Massagetae, worshipped the Sun (subsequently identified with Mithras), whom they invoked before battle; the king was 'Brother of the Sun and Moon<sup>2</sup>.' He was nearer heaven than his subjects, and none dined at his table, but that he was a god himself, as some believe, seems more than doubtful. The title *Theos* on some coins may only be the common Greek attitude of the time towards one whom it was politic to honour; nothing shows that the king was a god to his own people, though his *daimon* (i.e. his *fravashi*) may have been venerated<sup>3</sup>. Whether the beardless archer on

<sup>1</sup> M. I. Rostovtzeff and C. B. Welles in *Yale Classical Studies*, II, 1930, cited above. It is dated A.D. 121.

<sup>2</sup> On many coins the king's head is set between sun and moon.

<sup>3</sup> Inscription from Susa; see Fr. Cumont, *C.R.Ac.I.* 1930, p. 216.

the coins<sup>1</sup> represents the deified Arsaces ('Tiridates' brother), founder of the dynasty, or some Parnian god, has been much debated; the earliest Chinese visitors took this figure for a woman, which may mean that they too could get no explanation. It might merely be the Achaemenid archer in Parthian guise on the Greek omphalos, the usual attempt to claim the heirship of both civilizations, as seen in Commagene and Elymaïs (p. 597).

The Arsacids certainly did not follow the teaching of Zoroaster himself, and the Sassanids refused to consider them true believers. They adopted popular Mazdaism, from motives of policy; but they only took what they chose, and the amount grew less with time. The Magian prohibition of pollution of the sacred elements, earth and fire, was not observed, except by pious *individuals*; bodies of enemies were sometimes burnt, and the numerous Parthian coffins, constructed to hold the body, not bones, prove that the Parthians did not habitually expose their dead to the birds; the kings themselves were buried like the Achaemenids. Sinatruces, the one king with a name possibly non-Iranian, *perhaps* married his full sister<sup>2</sup>—the Magian custom; no other case is recorded. The Magi maintained the holy fires, and at Ecbatana sacrifice was offered daily to Anaitis; conceivably they would have been intolerant had they dared, for (whatever its actual date) the fable in which the Persian goat triumphs rather brutally in argument over the sacred tree of Assyria may exhibit their spirit<sup>3</sup>. But the kings, though they honoured the Magi and called them to council, were ready to respect every religion<sup>4</sup>. Greek deities appear on their coins; the Jews regarded them as friends, and proselytized freely; the religion of Babylon spread as it pleased; no local cult was disturbed. But their catholic tolerance may have been due to indifference rather than to enlightenment. One gathers the impression that they thought all religions useful, none material; what mattered to a man was his horse, his bow, and his own right arm.

It was the kings of Persis, ancestors of the Sassanids, who considered themselves guardians of the true Zoroastrian faith. On their earlier coins the priest-king, the 'fire-kindler,' ministers

<sup>1</sup> Volume of Plates iv, 8, *a*.

<sup>2</sup> J. N. Strassmaier, *Z.A.* viii, p. 112 (— F. X. Kugler, *Sternkunde*, II, p. 447): 'Arsaces, King, and Ishbubarzaa his sister, Queen'; 76/5 B.C. She was possibly however a half-sister.

<sup>3</sup> See Sidney Smith in *Bull. School of Oriental Studies*, iv, 1926, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> The first great translator of the Buddhist scriptures into Chinese, in the second century A.D., was an Arsacid prince living in China: P. Pelliot, *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig.* 1912, p. 106.

before a great fire-altar above which hovers Ahura-mazda<sup>1</sup>; beside it stands the sacred banner of the smith Kava, the Sassanian standard, under which some believe Darius III had fought at Issus. But Persis did nothing to spread the faith, even if the Persian gods on the Kushan coinage in India may have come from her, not from Parthia<sup>2</sup>. Mazdaism was expanding of itself in the western borderland, in Pontus, Cappadocia, Armenia, Commagene, and among the pirates of Cilicia; but what was spreading was essentially the popular belief and its gods, notably Mithras. Whether the later movements of Persian religion and nationality ever began to stir beneath the surface in Parthia is unknown.

The Greek cities of the east had been loyal to the Seleucids while they could be, but when the Seleucid Empire broke up they became enclaves, without any political background; perhaps after Sidetes' death they accepted the position, for in the first century they often contained pro-Parthian parties. Their cultural background, however, remained, and there was no break in their life. They retained their constitutions and magistracies, and probably had just as much autonomy under the Parthian *epistates* (city governor) as under the Seleucid; he was now sometimes not a foreigner but a citizen of the city, even a magistrate, and had certain judicial powers; possibly the 'tyrants' of some Greek cities were really the Parthian *epistatai*<sup>3</sup>. Doura shows that the city registries of deeds still functioned. Mixture of blood had begun, but some Greek communities, like that of Seleuceia, kept themselves purely Greek. Seleuceia, whenever her factions chose to unite, could defy the Parthians; in the confusions of 89/8 her Council began to issue autonomous coins, and apparently some other cities followed. Greek remained a dominant and even aggressive language; inscriptions and coins show that it did not begin to become ungrammatical much before the second century A.D., despite the blundered legends on some coins of Orodes II, due to oriental workmen; the Greek leases from Avroman of the first century B.C., made between natives and drawn up by a local scribe, illustrate its grip even on remote country districts; the law of the Greek cities was never superseded by anything Asiatic. In Babylonia during this century Babylonians continued to take Greek names; there are tablets on which the Babylonian words have been written in Greek for the use of learners<sup>4</sup>; very striking

<sup>1</sup> Volume of Plates iv, 8, *m*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* iv, 10, *g*.

<sup>3</sup> A city might also be under an hereditary feudal governor or *arkapat*; see M. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> See vol. III, p. 247 (cf. p. 720 [5]).

is a Babylonian dedication, a living document issuing from a priestly circle, written, not in cuneiform, but in Greek letters<sup>1</sup>. A Greek diptychos from Doura with folded wooden leaves may be the ancestor of the first true book.

Throughout the first century Greek literary activity continued. Apollodorus of Artemita wrote that *History of Parthia* whose loss we deplore. Isidore of Charax compiled a description of the Parthian empire, while his *Parthian Stations* is our best literary authority for the time; Augustus drew on the knowledge of the East possessed by Dionysius of Charax, if indeed Dionysius be not Isidore himself. Archedemus of Tarsus, a pupil of the famous Stoic Diogenes of Seleuceia, set up a school in Babylon. Diogenes the Epicurean visited Seleuceia, as did the rhetorician Amphicrates of Athens; the Seleuceians begged Amphicrates to set up a school among them, but he said that a dish would not contain a dolphin. Herodicus of Babylon, critic and grammarian, interested in the warfare of literary cliques, recorded that he had two homes, Hellas and 'Babylon child of the god'—a recondite allusion to the nymph Babylon as Bel's supposed daughter; Herodorus of Susa wrote the poem whose language and elaborate metre show the vitality of Hellenism in his city<sup>2</sup>. Some Greeks learnt Babylonian; Isidore knew Aramaic; the numerous half-breeds supplied interpreters. No doubt Hellenism was weakening, but in spite of mixed marriages it was not as yet dying. It was probably on the religious side that the Oriental reaction affected Greeks most. At Uruk and Susa Greeks dedicate girl children as hierodules in native temples<sup>3</sup>; in Herodorus' ode to Apollo, addressed by the Semitic name Mara, the tendency appears to merge all gods in the Sun as the sole and supreme object of worship; in the first century A.D. names at Doura are freely drawn from among all the gods and goddesses in the Near East.

The revival of Babylonia under the first Seleucids was working itself out to its conclusion, but Babylonian culture still showed some living strength. Cuneiform writing long held its own against more modern scripts; the last known cuneiform is dated 6 B.C.<sup>4</sup> The astronomical schools were still at work, and the famous Seleucus may have lived into Parthian times; a table for the moon's positions, calculated on the formulae of the older astronomer Naburian, whose name was known to Greeks, was drawn up as

<sup>1</sup> W. G. Schillieco, *Arch. f. Orientforschung*, v, 1928, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Other Greek poems from Susa of this time are now known.

<sup>3</sup> A. T. Clay, *Babylonian Records*, II, no. 53; Fr. Cumont, *Délégation en Perse*, xx, p. 84, no. 4, *C.R. Ac. Inscr.* 1931, p. 278. <sup>4</sup> See vol. III, p. 247.

late as 49 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Babylonian astrology flooded the world; two first-century Babylonian writers treated of the effect of precious stones on human destinies; about the Christian era the book of Teucros of Babylon, whether a Greek or a native, gave shape to a mass of astrological constellations which for long ruled the skies of Asia<sup>2</sup>. The elaborate ritual of the old gods was still celebrated at Uruk, and they still possessed some activity. Adad and Nanaia became the chief deities of Doura; if Beltra of the Peutinger Table be Adrapana, Bel reached Ecbatana; he did reach Palmyra, and also Cappadocia, where an Aramaic inscription<sup>3</sup> shows the Mazdean religion personified as Bel's sister and spouse—a true allegory, for popular Mazdaism had been much affected by Babylonian ideas, and there was a tendency to equate Ahura with Bel no less than with Zeus. It is believed that the Babylonian New Year festival was even celebrated at Ashur. Certainly to Parthia Babylonia remained a strange foreign land, as Chinese observers noticed; of the things she could give—learning, wealth, prestige—only the two latter would attract the Arsacids. But even Parthia could not entirely resist Babylonian religion; there has been found, attached to the temple of Anu at Uruk, a Parthian chapel intended for some Babylonian cult.

Of Elymaïs little is known. Her symbols, the star and crescent and the anchor (if it be an anchor), may suggest that, like Commagene, she claimed to represent both Achaemenids and Seleucids; a mausoleum discovered at Susa may be the tomb of one of her kings. Her goddess Nanaia, often equated with Anaitis, was one of the most popular deities of western Asia; in her great temple at Azara in Elymaïs tame lions lived in the precinct, as in that of Atargatis at Bambyce. Characene was little but the background of her cosmopolitan trading port, Charax; her kings' names reveal a very medley of tongues and cults, Babylonian, Persian, Elamite, Arab; the Greek element is certain. But if Charax was cosmopolitan, a community farther up the Tigris kept themselves apart—the Assyrians at Ashur. The Aramaic inscriptions found there, largely of the Christian era, show a little body of people, among them perhaps a family of temple priests, still carrying on the worship of Ashur and his consort Serui at the accustomed spot, though the old Ashur temple had been replaced by a Parthian building; save for Nanaia, they worship no other god; their names are purely Assyrian, and Greece and Iran have

<sup>1</sup> P. Schnabel, *Berosos*, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. Boll, *Sphaera*; Fr. Cumont, *Rev. Arch.* 1903, I, p. 437.

<sup>3</sup> M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, I, 69.

alike left them untouched; in the third century A.D. there appears among them the name Esarhaddon. It is a pathetic survival of one of the toughest peoples of antiquity.

The revenue of the Arsacids is unknown, but they grew wealthy on their subjects' trade; customs houses and *octroi* stations are mentioned, and there were some very rich men in Babylon. At a later time both Roman and Chinese writers complained that Parthia jealously blocked trade between them, but during our period there seems to have been remarkable freedom of movement; Greek literary men might be at home both on the Ilissus and the Euphrates, and the eastern Jews had free intercourse with Palestine; in Hyrcanus' reign the President of the Sanhedrin was Nital of Arbela<sup>1</sup>. The mass of Seleucid coins in the Teheran and Mandali hoards attest much trade with Syria, even in its decline; in 55 B.C. Seleucid gold still circulated in Babylonia<sup>2</sup>; the Samaritan trader Eumenes, whom his wife Arsinoe buried near Conchobar in Media, may belong to this time<sup>3</sup>. Chang-k'ien was struck by the keenness of the people to trade, and after 115 trade with China became active; silk came to Parthia, and Chinese figured silks may have appeared in Egypt<sup>4</sup>; Syrian textiles reached Urga in Mongolia<sup>5</sup>, and coins of Mithridates II made their way to Karghalik in Turkestan<sup>6</sup>. Parthia began to import from China the famous Seric iron, called Margian because it came in through Merv<sup>7</sup>—a fact very damaging to the theory that it came from the Cheras of southern India. Chang-k'ien took to China seeds of the grape-vine and the Median lucerne; China sent to Iran the apricot and the peach, and subsequently received the 'Parthian fruit,' the pomegranate<sup>8</sup>. The one-humped Arabian camel, domiciled about the Persian desert before Alexander's day, was now used by the Yueh-chi in Bactria; the great Nesaeen chargers travelled to Ferghana and thence in 101 B.C. passed to China, where they were called 'heavenly horses'; somewhat later China imported ostriches—'Parthian birds'—from Babylonia. China had long since got her constellations from Babylon<sup>9</sup>; she now

<sup>1</sup> M. Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud*, 2nd ed. p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> A. Dumont, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie*, 1892, p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, p. 226.

<sup>4</sup> Sir A. Stein, *Burlington Magazine*, 1920, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> W. P. Yetts, *Burlington Magazine*, 1926, p. 168; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Animal Style in South Russia and China*, 1929, Pl. xxiv A, and p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> Sir A. Stein, *Serindia*, III, p. 1340.

<sup>7</sup> Combining Orosius, VI, 13, 2 with Plutarch, *Crassus*, 24.

<sup>8</sup> B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 190, 284, 539.

<sup>9</sup> C. Bezold, *Ostasiat. Zeitschrift*, VIII, p. 42.

took from Sogdian the names of the planets<sup>1</sup>. Traders too brought their gods; Ma of Comana reached Susa, Isis (seemingly) Uruk. In the first century there must also have been trade communication between Parthia and India, though most of the evidence is later; but the round omicron changes to the square form on coins of Maues and Azes in India in correspondence with the similar change on the coins of Orodes II, and some of Orodes' coins were stamped for re-issue by some Indo-Parthian king<sup>2</sup>. Parthian silver coins remained of good value till after Phraates IV, even while the Hellenistic currencies were depreciating<sup>3</sup>.

Whether any bulk of trade passed by the Caspian-Euxine route, at any rate till Roman times, is very doubtful. The main trade road, described by Greek and Chinese writers, came from China through Chinese Turkestan and the mart at Lan-che (Bactra) to Merv, and thence ran Hecatompylos-Ecbatana-Seleuceia; the eastern section has recently been explored<sup>4</sup>. By the first century B.C. the disturbances along the Euphrates due to the Seleucid break-up were over, and from Seleuceia Parthia possessed two main roads westward. One went north through Ashur and Hatra to Nisibis, whence branches ran to Zeugma and into Armenia; the wealth of Hatra, which may be the unidentified Ho-tu of the *Annals of the Later Han*<sup>5</sup>, attests the commerce which passed. The other crossed the Euphrates at Neapolis, followed the west bank by Doura to Nicephorium, and thence went up the Belik to Carrhae and Zeugma; the inscriptions on Iamblichus' tomb at Palmyra may suggest that the short cut from Doura to Syria via Palmyra began to come into use about 100 B.C. Between these two roads ran the desert road of the Skenite Arabs, noticed later. In the south, Persepolis became 'the mart of the Persians,' and Persis, which now ruled Carmania and could exploit its mineral wealth, grew rich and luxurious; but there is no direct evidence that the route Persepolis-Carmania-Seistan to India carried much trade, and the omission of this road by Strabo, though he thrice mentions the Persepolis-Carmania section, may be against it. Communication between the Euphrates and Indus is well attested later; but there are indications that, even at this time, trade was taking the sea route to India from Charax and (for Persis) from the Gulf of Ormuz. Some one indeed had tried to improve

<sup>1</sup> R. Gauthiot, *Mém. Soc. Linguistique*, 1916, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> E. J. Rapson, *J.R.A.S.* 1904, p. 677. See Volume of Plates iv, 8, 1.

<sup>3</sup> J. Hammer, *Z. Num.* xxvi, 1907, p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> Sir A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*.

<sup>5</sup> Unidentified: F. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, VIII, p. 177.



this sea route by establishing agriculture on the Gedrosian coast, the fact hidden behind Pliny's story (*N.H.* vi, 95) that 'Alexander forbade the Fish-eaters to eat fish.'

Art in the Parthian period has now definitely come into view, and some would even assign it a character of its own; there are statuettes, terracottas, and the characteristic glazed sarcophagi. Possibly it meant two distinct streams. One was decadent Hellenistic with oriental elements, like the plaster and painted Victories from Doura<sup>1</sup> and the Ashur steles; the other was a rude native art struggling for expression, as in the figures of the Parthian nobles with frizzed hair. One such noble on a clay mould stands before a definitely Hellenistic goddess (? Anaitis)<sup>2</sup>; the same hand never made both figures. Achaemenid art had been a king's art which died with the dynasty; the Iranian people had to make a fresh start. Where better work is found it is simply Greek, like the coin-portraits of Artabanus II; that of Tiraeus I of Characene in old age<sup>3</sup> and the fine Graeco-Assyrian head of Mithridates I stand alone<sup>4</sup>. Far better than the statuary, seemingly, was the ornamental metal work of the period, as illustrated by the gold and silver vessels of the Treasure of the Karēn, most of them unfortunately dispersed and melted down, which show Greek and Achaemenid influences<sup>5</sup>. For architecture, we now have temples at Ashur and Uruk, palaces (or halls) at Ashur and Hatra<sup>6</sup>, a peristyle house at Nippur; in the usual view it is decadent Hellenistic work moulded by Iranian influences; all three orders occur, with a fondness for engaged columns. Parthian tombs, built of brick and barrel-vaulted, have been discovered at Ashur, Ctesiphon, and elsewhere. Persis exhibits a style of its own, said to have been traced right across Asia—square buildings with flat roofs and cupolas. Scanty as are its remains, the art of Iran in the Parthian period was destined, in the view of some scholars, to have no small historical importance. To Professor Strzygowski, who refuses to see in it Hellenic influences, it was destined to play a large part in history through its decisive influence on the art of Armenia; Professor Rostovtzeff believes that its influence can be traced alike in the arts of Palmyra, of South Russia, and of China in the Han period.

This sketch of the empire must end, as it began, with the Parthian aristocracy themselves, for they had one accomplishment of their own—war. It speaks well for a military people that they were not more aggressive; and indeed Parthia was always stronger

<sup>1</sup> Volume of Plates iv, 18, *a*, *b*.      <sup>2</sup> *Ib.* iv, 22, *a*.      <sup>3</sup> *Ib.* iv, 10, *a*, *b*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* iv, 24.

<sup>5</sup> E. Herzfeld, *Burl. Mag.* 1928, p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> Volume of Plates iv, 20, *b*.

in defence than in attack. Judging by the Sacas, the Parni brought from the desert two modes of fighting on horseback; the wealthy wore armour and used swords or spears, and their horses had metal breastplates; the common people, when mounted, were light-armed horse-archers. The armoured rider was conditioned by the power of his mount, but once the Parthians had acquired Media and the Nesaeen horses this arm developed rapidly. The Nesaeen horses had always been a large breed, and the Parthians bred them bigger and bigger till they became the magnificent chargers of the Sassanian reliefs, prototypes of the huge German and Flemish war-horses of the Middle Ages; they had, says Strabo, 'a shape of their own,' and popular literature compared them to elephants<sup>1</sup>. The riders developed their armament to correspond, and by Crassus' time differed little from medieval knights; they wore long coats of mail to the knee, helmets, and mailed greaves; they are described as built into their armour, and rather helpless if knocked off their horses<sup>2</sup>. The horses, too, were armoured, and the spears, which Greeks called 'barge-poles,' had grown enormous. Unlike the medieval knights, however, these 'cataphracts' had one vulnerable spot; as they rode without stirrups, their thighs were left unarmoured to ensure a good grip, and they could be attacked from the flank. Antiochus III, after meeting Parthians, had experimented with cataphracts at Magnesia; the Armenians copied Parthia after Tigranes had raided Media for horses; the heavy armament reached China<sup>3</sup>, and Wu-ti sent two armies to Ferghana to obtain a few of the coveted Nesaeen chargers; in the hands of the Sarmatians and the Sassanians the mailed cataphract cavalry became the weapon of Asia. It was the arm of the aristocracy, as in the Middle Ages; and the frequent recurrence of one number, 6000, when cataphracts are mentioned in other countries in this period suggests that 6000 was really the full force of Parthia.

But in the first century B.C. it looked as if the weapon of Asia was to be, not the cataphract with his heavy horse and great spear, but the horse-archer with his light horse<sup>4</sup> and bow shortened below the grip for use in the saddle. At some period unknown—it is difficult to dissociate the process from the Saca invasion—

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*, pp. 77 sqq., 156 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See Volume of Plates, iv, 26, c.

<sup>3</sup> B. Laufer, *Chinese Clay Figures*, p. 217; M. Rostovtzeff, *Mon. Piot*, xxvi, p. 135; *The Animal Style in South Russia and China*, p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> See Volume of Plates iv, 8, c; 26, b.

the Parthians abandoned the mixed Hellenistic type of army for the horse-archer; they used no more mercenaries and hardly any footmen, and had no standing army. Their horse-archers, like the Achaemenid cavalry, consisted of the retainers of the landowners and nobles, who followed their lords to battle; the Parthian innovation was to abolish javelin and short spear alike, and arrange that the whole nobility, Parthian and Iranian, should arm their retainers with the bow. From youth up they were trained in shooting; and their method, brought from the desert, of pretending to fly and firing back over the crupper—the 'Parthian shot'—became famous. Greeks called some of these retainers 'slaves,' which has led to the suggestion that the Parthians used Janissaries; more probably it was merely the same misunderstanding which had caused Greeks to call even Achaemenid satraps or princes 'slaves' of the Great King<sup>1</sup>, helped by Greeks translating some Parthian term for 'aristocrats' as *ἐλεύθεροι*, free men (Josephus, *Ant.* xiv [13, 5], 342). By Crassus' time there-arming of Asia was complete, and a Parthian army consisted of just two formations, the mailed knights and their retainers the horse-archers. It meant that the walls of Seleuceia or the mountains of Elymaïs could defy them; but they were not thinking of Elymaïs, and against walls Greek science might be used. Tradition puts the total Parthian levy of horse-archers at 40,000. The West had small belief in horse-archers; Alexander had not been much impressed by those he met, Lucullus had had little trouble with those of Armenia, and Parthians, it was said, could not fight for long; it was apparently an axiom that horse-archers soon ran out of arrows. But Parthia was to produce a man who realized the possibilities of the long-range weapon if sufficiently munitioned.

#### V. PARTHIA AND ROME

Armenia has already entered into the history of this period in the Mithridatic Wars (pp. 356 *sqq.*). The story of her rise cannot be told, because it had perished before the Armenians began to write history; the line of Arsacid kings with which their annalists filled the blank is fictitious. Armenia had apparently never been subject to the Seleucids till Antiochus III compelled Artaxias and Zariadris, rulers of Armenia proper and Sophene, to accept his suzerainty and govern as his generals; but they recovered their independence after Magnesia (vol. viii, p. 514). The country was one of those in which an Iranian aristocracy

<sup>1</sup> See A. S. F. Gow, *J.H.S.* XLVIII, 1928, p. 134.

ruled over the native population, as in Pontus, Cappadocia, Com-magene, and Atropatene. In the course of the second and first centuries it had close relations with the growing power of Parthia, from whom it borrowed much; it became a copy of Parthia in many things besides military organization.

Mithridates II after his conquest of Mesopotamia attacked Artaxias' descendant Artavasdes, took his son Tigranes as hostage, and ultimately put Tigranes on the throne, taking seventy valleys in payment and marrying his daughter. The confusion in Parthia after Mithridates' death was Tigranes' opportunity; having united Armenia by the conquest of Sophene, he recovered the seventy valleys and took Gordyene, Adiabene, and Nisibis, bringing his Mesopotamian frontier south of Singara; then he invaded Media, burnt the palace at Adrapana, and presumably secured a supply of Nesaeen horses (a breed he may have already possessed) for his cataphracts. Parthia was now confined to the Euphrates route to Osrhoëne and Zeugma, until Hatra was built; and Tigranes, for commercial reasons, secured the submission or goodwill of the Skenite Arabs and the advantage of their trade route, which, avoiding cities, ran from Babylonia through the Mesopotamian desert, crossed the Belik between Ichnae and Carrhae, skirted Anthemusias to the southward, and reached the Euphrates opposite Bambyce. Tigranes also made Atropatene subject, conquered northern Syria (in 83), and called himself 'King of Kings'; conceivably this or that Arsaces was even his vassal. He had grown great, and had effectually humbled Parthia.

In 92 Parthia came into contact with Rome: Sulla was on the Euphrates, having settled Cappadocia, and Mithridates II sent an envoy to him with a request for friendship and alliance; both saw with concern the growing power of Pontus. The first relations of Rome and Parthia were consistently friendly; in 73 Sinatruces refused an appeal for help from Mithridates of Pontus, and in 69, after the battle of Tigranocerta (p. 368), Phraates III again sought friendship and alliance from Tigranes' conqueror Lucullus, who recognized the Euphrates as Parthia's boundary. Tigranes now appealed to Phraates for help against Lucullus and offered to restore Gordyene, Adiabene, Nisibis, and the seventy valleys. It was tempting; Phraates hesitated; Lucullus would have attacked him, but his troops practically mutinied; finally Lucullus' successor, Pompey, offered Phraates the same territory and also recognized the Euphrates as boundary. Phraates thereon decided for Rome, accepted Pompey's offer, and invaded Armenia; but he failed to take Artaxata and went home again, and it was to Pompey that

Tigranes surrendered. Phraates proceeded to occupy the promised territory. But Tigranes was now Rome's friend; probably, too, Pompey thought that Phraates had shown insufficient zeal<sup>1</sup>. He ordered him out of Gordyene, and without waiting for a reply sent his general Afranius to expel his men; Afranius gave back Gordyene and Nisibis to Tigranes and marched home through Mesopotamia. Parthia never forgot Pompey's double-dealing; it was the breach of faith of which Surenas afterwards reminded Crassus. Phraates sent Pompey a protest, and received an insolent reply; he thereon again attacked Tigranes. But both kings saw that their quarrel could only advantage Rome; they accepted Pompey's arbitration and made peace; seemingly Tigranes kept Gordyene and Nisibis and Phraates Adiabene. Phraates also lost part of western Mesopotamia, where the king of Osroëne, Pompey's friend Ariamnes or Mazares (*i.e.* Maz'ûr), officially called Abgar II, became Rome's ally, as did Alchaudonius (or Alchaedamnus), an Arab dynast west of the Euphrates. It is said that, after Phraates' protest, Pompey thought of invading Parthia, but considered it too hazardous; but the idea, once started, bore fruit later.

About 57 Phraates was murdered by his sons Orodes and Mithridates, and the elder became king as Orodes II. Mithridates soon revolted, drove out Orodes, and struck coins which bore his name, the first Arsacid to do so<sup>2</sup>. The general Surenas however restored Orodes with his private army (p. 607), and Mithridates fled to Gabinius, proconsul of Syria, and persuaded him to reinstate him (55); Gabinius had actually crossed the Euphrates when a more lucrative undertaking presented itself. Ptolemy XI (Auletes) of Egypt had in 58 been virtually expelled from Alexandria on account of the loss of Cyprus and had gone to Rome; there he had gained Pompey's ear, and Pompey recommended him to Gabinius, to whom he promised 10,000 talents as the price of his restoration. Though unauthorized by the Senate, Gabinius invaded Egypt, restored Ptolemy to his throne, and returned to Syria; he was subsequently condemned for his action and fined the 10,000 talents he had received (p. 621 *sq.*). Mithridates returned to Parthia and raised his partisans, but Surenas shut him up in Seleuceia and ultimately (in 54 B.C.) took the city, doubtless with help from within the walls; on Orodes' coins Seleuceia kneels to him<sup>3</sup>, and he secured his throne by putting Mithridates to death.

<sup>1</sup> Dio shows that Pompey had attached no conditions to his offer, beyond alliance (xxxvi, 45, 3; 51, 1; xxxvii, 5 and 6).

<sup>2</sup> H. Dressel, *Z. Num.* xxxiii, p. 156. See Volume of Plates iv, 10, *c.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* iv, 10, *d.*

We must turn for a moment to Rome. The conference of the triumvirs at Luca (p. 535), which had arranged that Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls for 55, had perhaps also decided on the conquest of Parthia, to be carried out by Crassus as proconsul in Syria; what passed is not known, but the idea may have been due to Caesar as much as to Crassus, though Crassus welcomed it. Crassus had now turned 60, but was old for his age and rather deaf. He had always followed where others led; he had amassed wealth, but had not achieved either the renown or the popularity of his two colleagues; he had an unhappy sense of inferiority. It has been suggested that his object was the control of the silk trade<sup>1</sup>. The master of Seleuceia would control most things coming from China or India; but, though Parthian gold doubtless attracted him, his principal aim was nevertheless conquest for itself, fame in the field which should put him on a level with Caesar and Pompey in the popular mind. Tradition, right or wrong, says he desired even more than this; he hoped to reach the Eastern Ocean and surpass Alexander. He had read some history, but he probably knew little about Parthia; he thought Parthians were like Armenians, and, misled by Lucullus' victories, looked forward to easy and well-gilded laurels; his one fear was that success might be too easy, thus diminishing the coveted glory.

He began to prepare during his consulate. The Trebonian law of 55 gave both consuls the power of recruiting troops, not only in Italy but in the provinces; but Pompey and Caesar had already had their pick of the youth of Italy, and Crassus had to employ press-gangs and got some second-rate material. His project was unpopular: the Optimates fought him with the cry that Parthia had done no wrong and that to attack her was unjust; Cicero wrote later 'We had no pretext for war,' and indeed all the grievances were on Parthia's side. On the earliest legal day, the Ides of November 55, Crassus left Rome in his uniform (p. 618). The temper of the crowd, led by the tribune C. Ateius Capito, was so ugly that Pompey had to throw the cloak of his own popularity over Crassus to get him away without trouble; and as he passed out of the city Ateius sat in the gateway beside a brazier and with the solemn curses of an ancient ritual devoted him to the infernal gods, the first of many evil portents which, so men believed, attended the ill-starred expedition. He embarked at Brundisium for Dyrrhachium, lost some ships crossing, marched to Syria, and in the spring of 54 took over the province and the troops there from Gabinius. There was still civil war in Parthia, and Mithridates still held out in Seleuceia.

<sup>1</sup> P. Giles, *Proc. Camb. Philol. Soc.* 1929, p. 1.

## VI. THE INVASION OF CRASSUS

With the troops taken over from Gabinius, Crassus had seven legions in Syria, with their quota of cavalry and light-armed; it has been suggested that he must have had an even number, eight<sup>1</sup>, and left one behind in Syria, but there seems no reason to discredit the tradition. His legates were Octavius, Vargunteius, and his son Publius Crassus, the conqueror of Aquitania, whom Caesar had sent to him with 1000 picked Gallic horse, the best corps he had; C. Cassius Longinus, afterwards Caesar's murderer, was quaestor. Roman cavalry was seldom effective and Crassus knew that he would need more than he had, but for this he relied on Rome's allies; Abgar and Alchaudonius could bring light horse, and Artavasdes of Armenia, who had recently succeeded his father Tigranes, could supply a considerable force. He began operations at once by invading Mesopotamia; the Parthian governor, Sillaces, had only a few men and was easily put to flight, and Crassus occupied the towns along the Belik down to Nicephorium. Most accepted his garrisons, but at Zenodotium, a little place, his men were killed and the town thereupon was stormed; for this exploit his troops hailed him Imperator, a fact which illumines the mentality of both army and general. He left 7000 foot—two cohorts from each legion—and 1000 horse to garrison the cities, and returned to Syria to winter; whether he was training his troops, or whether he desired western Mesopotamia as an advanced base, cannot be said. He has been blamed for not making straight for Seleucia while Mithridates still held out; but merely to substitute Mithridates for Orodes on the throne was not at all what he wanted.

Crassus was a general of a type which had been common in Roman history—brave enough, obstinate, ordinarily competent, perfectly conventional; he seems to have believed that his business was to bring the legions into contact with the enemy, and the legions would do the rest. His men as yet felt no devotion to him, and he did not understand how to win it. It was his misfortune to meet, late in life, an opponent who had all the imagination which he lacked. Surenas—his personal name is unknown—was a tall young man, not yet thirty, who dressed elaborately and painted his face like a girl; but he feared nothing and had an idea, a dangerous combination. It had occurred to him that archers

<sup>1</sup> E. Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie*, 2nd ed. p. 170; M. Gelzer, *Licinius (Crassus)*, no. 68 in *P.W.*

were useless without arrows; this does not seem to have occurred to anyone before. As he was the second man in the empire, and very wealthy, the number of his retainers was limited only by his wishes; and from them he had formed a body of 10,000 horse-archers, the largest force he thought he could muster. They 'always accompanied him,' that is, they had constant training; but the vital matter was his corps of 1000 Arabian camels, one to every ten men, who were an integral part of his army and carried a huge reserve of arrows. For the first time in history, so far as is known, there had appeared a trained professional force depending solely on long-range weapons and with enough ammunition for a protracted fight. Crassus had not the least idea of what he was going to meet; but many Greeks must have known, and the most serious count against him is his neglect of Greek sources of information.

During the winter Crassus recruited some cavalry in Syria, but he did not give his troops the hard training which might perhaps have saved him; he spent the time instead plundering the temples at Bambyce and Jerusalem. In the early spring of 53 Orodes, whose hands were now free, sent an embassy to enquire if it was Rome's war or Crassus' private adventure; if the latter, he was prepared to let Crassus off lightly, as he was an old man. Crassus replied that he would give his answer at Seleuceia, whereon the Parthian envoy held his hand out and said 'Hair will grow on my palm, Crassus, before you see Seleuceia.' Artavasdes also came, with the offer of the Armenian cavalry if Crassus would invade Parthia through Armenia, *i.e.* substitute Ecbatana for Seleuceia as his objective; Crassus naturally refused, for he would merely have been committed to a distant route with an uncertain ally between him and his base. He seems however to have believed that, notwithstanding this refusal, Artavasdes would still fulfil his obligations as Rome's ally; he may have been right, for Orodes believed it also; as he saw it, Parthia was threatened with war on two fronts. He decided that he himself with the Parthian levies would conduct the offensive against Armenia, while he entrusted the defence of Mesopotamia against Crassus to Surenas and his private army, which he reinforced with 1000 mailed knights. Probably the plan was Surenas' own; it ensured easy glory for Orodes, while he himself was safeguarded by his instructions, which were to keep Crassus busy and see what he could do. Doubtless he knew very well what he could do. He took up a position on the Belik between Carrhae (Harran) and Ichnae, where the Parthian and Arab roads to Babylonia intersected; he



also flanked the road by Carrhae and Nisibis to the Tigris on the north and the Euphrates line to the south-west, and could intercept Crassus if he came by either route. He had his 10,000 archers, 1000 cataphracts, and a few men brought by Sillaces, who joined him. Even Roman writers, with one unimportant exception<sup>1</sup>, never ascribe a large force to the Parthians; as they usually represent Livy, this is greatly to Livy's credit.

Crassus crossed the Euphrates below Zeugma on his own pontoons in a great storm; more portents occurred, and one eagle tried to turn back. He had with him 7 legions, now of 8 cohorts apiece—28,000 men—4000 horse, and 4000 light-armed; after crossing he was joined by Abgar and Alchaudonius with their cavalry. He went down the Euphrates to where the Arab road (p. 603) reached the river opposite Bambyce; there scouts reported the tracks of horsemen going eastward, and he held a council to decide on the next move. Cassius advocated keeping to the Euphrates and carrying their supplies by water, but Crassus was anxious to follow what he believed to be the retreating enemy, and accepted Abgar's offer of guidance. In the tradition Abgar appears as a traitor who led Crassus through the desert to deliver him to Surenas, but his treachery cannot be substantiated. He had been Pompey's friend, and probably lost his own kingdom after Carrhae; certainly he deserted before the battle, but he had learnt by then that the army, being what it was, must be defeated; and he was not dishonest over the route, for he merely took Crassus along the Arab road<sup>2</sup> which the retiring Parthian scouts had followed. It was a regular trade route, in places equipped with cisterns; but it was meant for Arabs and their camels, and it went through desert country for a day and a half before reaching the Belik. The real problem of Crassus' march is why he did not follow the ordinary Parthian road from Zeugma to Nicephorium.

Crassus has been blamed both in ancient and modern times either for not keeping to the Euphrates or for not going through the Armenian mountains, where cavalry could not attack him. Such criticism is idle. If his objective was Seleucia, it mattered nothing what way he took; by any route he had sooner or later to cross open ground, and Surenas, with greatly superior mobility, could choose his own battlefield. If a general can only invade a country by avoiding contact with its armed forces, he cannot invade that country to much purpose.

Soon after Crassus quitted the Euphrates he met envoys from

<sup>1</sup> Vell. Pat. II, 46.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *Crassus*, 22, *Νομάδι ληστάρχη προσήκουσαν*, identifies it with the road of Strabo XVI, 748.

Artavasdes, who told him that Artavasdes could send no help, as Orodes was invading Armenia; indeed he begged help from Crassus. Crassus merely remarked that he would punish him later, and pushed on fast, for more tracks of horsemen had been seen. The army grumbled at the hardships of the march; they were soft, and Abgar's sarcasm 'Did they think it would be a route-march through Campania?' was perhaps not unjustified. They were soft, too, in mind as well as in body; every fresh story of the strength of the Parthian bows went home. Finally came the desert belt before the Belik, which tried them severely, and when at midday on 6 May 53 they reached the river between Carrhae and Ichnae they were hungry, thirsty, and weary. No enemy had been sighted, and his officers advised Crassus to form camp by the river, rest the men, and reconnoitre; but his one thought was that the flying foe might escape him. He made the men take a hasty meal in their ranks, and had started southward towards Ichnae when his scouts came in with the news that the Parthians were upon them. Abgar and Alchaudonius promptly deserted with their cavalry and went home.

Crassus had started down the river in line, Cassius commanding on the left and Publius on the right, but he now began to form 48 of his cohorts into square, with small bodies of horse between the cohorts; the left rested on the river, while the right was to be protected by Publius' force—his Gauls and 300 other horse, 500 light-armed, and the 8 cohorts not in the square—which was left free to manoeuvre<sup>1</sup>. The other light-armed were thrown forward. But he was in awkward formation, with the square not yet completed, when over rising ground the Parthians came into sight, heralded by the crash of kettledrums, while on their silken standards alien eagles faced the eagles of Rome. Their mailed lancers made one charge, to drive in the light-armed; then they retired behind the archers, and the hail of arrows began. The shield of a legionary was supposed to stop an arrow; but while the Parthians in front maintained direct fire, those behind used high trajectory, and one shield would not meet both. Cavalry and light-armed alike proved useless in counter-attack, and men began to fall; but the army comforted itself with the thought that (as they had been told) the quivers would soon be empty and it would be their turn. But the camel train had already come into action, and the enemy could be seen retiring on it by squadrons for fresh arrows; the army began to lose heart. Crassus had not the cavalry to attack the camels; but what seemingly troubled him

<sup>1</sup> This is F. Smith's arrangement of Crassus' army. There is no certainty.

more was that the enemy, though outnumbered thrice over, were threatening to turn his right flank, and the square was not yet formed. It was vital to complete it, and he ordered Publius to charge and give him room. Publius charged; the Parthians fled, and his eight cohorts followed him cheering for victory; the dust-cloud swallowed up pursuers and pursued, and Crassus was able to complete the square. But once the Parthians had drawn Publius away from the main body they turned on him; his light-armed Gauls, though they fought with desperate bravery, were ridden down by the cataphracts with their great spears, and the rest of his force was then ringed in and shot to pieces. A few escaped and told Crassus that his son was fighting for his life; he moved forward to his support, and met the returning Parthians bearing Publius' head on a lance, a sight which did nothing to restore the army's morale. Crassus himself took the blow with dignity and courage; he went down the ranks, telling the men that the sorrow was his alone: they must stand fast for Rome. Stand fast the square did till dark despite heavy loss, for indeed there was little choice, and with the dark the Parthians drew off; they could no longer see to shoot. Parthians usually camped at a distance from their enemy, for at night, dismounted and unable to shoot, they were very helpless; but this time they bivouacked near at hand. The ancient world had seen generals who, somehow or other, would have attacked that bivouac in the dark and settled the matter while the weary horses grazed; but Surenas had understood his opponents. No one in the Roman army thought of anything but flight. Once the strain was off, Crassus broke down; Octavius and Cassius ordered the retreat, abandoning 4000 wounded to the Parthians, and by dawn most of the survivors were within the walls of Carrhae.

But Carrhae offered no real security, for it was not provisioned and there were no troops in Syria to relieve it. Surenas, whose horses were tired, spent the next day collecting stragglers and destroying four cohorts under Vargunteius which had strayed from the main body; but though he did not appear before Carrhae till the 8th he had ascertained that Crassus *was* there, for he desired now to round off his victory by sending him alive to Orodes. Crassus dared not attempt to reach the Euphrates; he decided on a night retreat to the town of Sinnaca<sup>1</sup> at the foot of the Armenian mountains; once in the hills they were safe from the horsemen. Unfortunately he trusted the wrong man, Andromachus, leader

<sup>1</sup> A town (Strabo xvi, 747), not a mountain, as the form of the name shows. Another town called Sinnaca in Hyrcania, Ptolemy, vi, 9, 7.

of the pro-Parthian party in Carrhae, whom Orodes afterwards rewarded with the tyranny; and when he started<sup>1</sup> Andromachus guided him astray, intent on wasting time till daylight. The army, too, was ceasing to be a disciplined force, and was breaking up; even Cassius that night deserted his general and with 500 horse rode for Syria; we may believe that he was thinking not of himself but of the Republic. One officer in that retreat kept his honour, the legate Octavius. He held 5000 men together and reached Sinnaca at daybreak, where he waited for Crassus; but when Crassus presently came into sight on a low foot-hill two miles away, with only four cohorts and the enemy swarming about him, he left the walls and went back to his help. But the expected attack never came. Surenas feared that Crassus might even yet escape; he rode forward with outstretched hand and bow unstrung and spoke to the Roman troops. They had seen, he said, that Parthia could fight; now they should see that she could forgive; let Crassus come down and make a covenant with him, and they should go home in peace. Crassus saw the trick, and begged the men to hold out for two short miles more. But Surenas' offer of safe conduct had destroyed the last traces of discipline or shame; they turned on Crassus, reviling him and even threatening his life; they would not face the arrows again for one who dared not face Surenas unarmed. Crassus knew it was the end, and met it like a man. He went out alone to Surenas; one likes to believe that, as he went, he did say to Octavius 'Tell them at home that I was deceived by the enemy and not betrayed by my own men.' Surenas greeted Crassus and ordered a horse to be brought for him, saying that the definite treaty must be signed on the Euphrates boundary 'since you Romans are a little apt to forget your treaties.' But Octavius and some officers had followed Crassus down, and when the horse was brought they guessed that the Parthians meant to carry him off; there was a scuffle which became a fight, all the Romans were cut down, and in the confusion Crassus too was killed; none ever knew how he died.

So ended one of the worst disasters which the Roman arms ever suffered. Of Crassus' 44,000 men, including his garrisons, some 10,000 ultimately reached Syria and were formed into two legions by Cassius for the defence of the province, and another 10,000 were made prisoners and settled at Merv to keep the Parthian frontier; the rest perished. Plutarch's informant, who loves Parthia as little as he loves Rome, relates that Surenas staged at Seleucia a parody of a Roman triumph, in which a prisoner

<sup>1</sup> The possible evenings are May 8th, 9th, 10th, or 11th.

who resembled Crassus was paraded in women's clothes and mocked by the rabble as Emperor. Crassus' head and hand were cut off and sent to Orodes, who was at the Armenian capital Artaxata; for his invasion of Armenia had induced Artavasdes to change sides and become his ally, an alliance confirmed by the marriage of his son Pacorus to Artavasdes' sister. Plutarch's story goes that after the wedding feast Artavasdes, who cultivated literature and wrote Greek tragedies, had the tables removed, and a strolling company of Greek actors began to give the last scene of Euripides' *Bacchae*, the death of Pentheus, the part of Agave being taken by Jason of Tralles, a city which had recently suffered much from the Roman publican Falcidius. As Agave came forward with Pentheus' head, Sillaces entered the hall, saluted, and flung down the head of Crassus; Jason laid aside Pentheus' mask, took the head of Crassus in his arms, and began to chant as one inspired 'Blest is the prey that I bear, new-shorn from the trunk'; and when the chorus asked 'Who slew him?' and the answer came 'Mine was the honour,' a Parthian named Pomaxathres sprang forward and seized the head, shouting that the honour was his. The pointed alteration by the chorus of one of Euripides' lines may suggest that the whole savage scene was pre-arranged, while the very different treatment accorded to the bodies of Crassus and Antiochus Sidetes serves to illustrate the hatred which Rome evoked.

Surenas did not long survive his opponent; Orodes put his too successful general to death lest he should aspire to the diadem. The Parthians of course recovered Mesopotamia up to the Euphrates, doubtless including Nisibis and Gordyene, but Surenas' death disorganized the plans for the expected invasion of Syria in 52, and though a Parthian force under Pacorus did enter the province in 51 it was no longer Surenas' army. The horsemen swept through the open country, rousing the discontented, but broke helpless against the walls of Antioch; and when they attempted the small city of Antigoneia Cassius ambushed and defeated them. The new proconsul of Syria, Bibulus, with the help of a disaffected Parthian governor, then managed to render Pacorus suspect to his father, and he was recalled; but part of the army wintered in Cyrrhестice, and it was not till July of 50 B.C. that their last horseman recrossed the Euphrates. But the outbreak of the Roman civil war next year precluded any thought of revenge for Crassus' death; and for thirty years yet the Parthian was to keep his captured eagles.

## LIST OF PARTHIAN KINGS

*List used in chapter XIV*

[Arsaces]  
 Tiridates I. 248/247-after 227  
 Artabanus I. Before 208- ?  
 Phriapitius. ? [15 years reign] ?  
 Phraates I. ? -before 160  
 Mithridates I. Before 160-138  
 Phraates II. 138-129 or 128  
 Artabanus II. 129 or 128-124  
 Himerus. ? 128-? 124 or 123  
 Mithridates II. 124-87  
 Gotarzes I. 90-87  
 Unnamed Arsaces. In 86 and ? 85  
 Orodes I. In 80  
 Sinatruces. 77-70  
 Phraates III. 70-57  
 ? Unnamed Arsaces. In 68  
 Orodes II. 57-56  
 Mithridates III. 56-55  
 Orodes II. 55-38/37

*The traditional list (from Wroth)*

Arsaces? 250-248  
 Tiridates I. 248/247-211/210  
 Arsaces. 210-191  
 Phriapitius. 191-176  
 Phraates I. 176-171  
 Mithridates I. 171-138  
 Phraates II. 138-128/127  
 Artabanus I. 128/127-123  
 Himerus. 124-123  
 Mithridates II. 123-88  
 Artabanus II. 88-77  
  
 Sinatruces. 77-70  
 Phraates III. 70-57  
 Unknown king. Before c. 57  
  
 Mithridates III. 57-54  
 Orodes I. 57-38/37

*Note.* Wroth's list, based on von Gutschmid, is merely repeated in the latest numismatic study (that of J. de Morgan in Babelon's *Traité*) with the omission of the 'Unknown king.' The list used in chapter XIV owes much to E. H. Minns, *J.H.S.* xxxv, pp. 22 *sqq.*

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abh. Arch.-epig.	Abhandlungen d. archäol.-epigraph. Seminars d. Univ. Wien.
A.J.A.	American Journal of Archaeology.
A.J.Num.	American Journal of Numismatics.
A.J.Ph.	American Journal of Philology.
Am. Hist. Rev.	American Historical Review.
Arch. Anz.	Archäologischer Anzeiger (in J.D.A.I.).
Ἀρχ.	Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς.
Arch. Pap.	Archiv für Papyrusforschung.
Arch. Relig.	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
Ath. Mitt.	Mitteilungen des deutschen arch. Inst. (Athenische Abteilung).
Atti Acc. Torino	Atti della r. Accademia di scienze di Torino.
Bay. Abh.	Abhandlungen d. bayerischen Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
Bay. S.B.	Sitzungsberichte d. bayerischen Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
B.C.H.	Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique.
Berl. Abh.	Abhandlungen d. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
Berl. S.B.	Sitzungsberichte d. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
Boll. Fil. Class.	Bollettino della Filologia Classica.
B.P.W.	Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift.
B.S.A.	Annual of the British School at Athens.
B.S.R.	Papers of the British School at Rome.
Bursian	Bursian's Jahresbericht.
C.I.G.	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L.	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
C.J.	Classical Journal.
C.P.	Classical Philology.
C.Q.	Classical Quarterly.
C.R.	Classical Review.
C.R. Ac. Inscr.	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
Dessau	Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae.
Ditt. <sup>3</sup>	Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum. Ed. 3.
D.S.	Daremberg and Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines.
E. Brit.	Encyclopaedia Britannica. Ed. 11.
F. Gr. Hist.	F. Jacoby's Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.
F.H.G.	C. Müller's Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum.
G.G.A.	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Gött. Abh.	Abhandlungen d. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
Gött. Nach.	Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse.
Harv. St.	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.
Head H.N. <sup>2</sup>	Head's Historia Numorum. Ed. 2.
Heid. S.B.	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaft.
H.Z.	Historische Zeitschrift.
I.G.	Inscriptiones Graecae.
I.G.R.R.	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes.
Jahreshefte	Jahreshefte d. österr. archäol. Instituts in Wien.
J.D.A.I.	Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.
J.E.A.	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.

J.H.S.	Journal of Hellenic Studies.
J.I. d'A.N.	Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique.
J.P.	Journal of Philology.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.R.S.	Journal of Roman Studies.
Klio	Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
Mém. Ac. Inscr.	Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres.
Mem. Acc. Lincei	Memorie della r. Accademia nazionale dei Lincei.
Mem. Acc. Torino	Memorie della r. Accademia di scienze di Torino.
Mnem.	Mnemosyne.
Mus. B.	Musée belge.
N. J. f. Wiss.	Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung.
N.J. Kl. Alt.	Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
N.J.P.	Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.
N.S.A.	Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.
Num. Chr.	Numismatic Chronicle.
Num. Z.	Numismatische Zeitschrift.
O.G.I.S.	Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
O.L.Z.	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
Phil.	Philologus.
Phil. Woch.	Philologische Wochenschrift.
P.W.	Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.
Rend. Linc.	Rendiconti della r. Accademia dei Lincei.
Rev. Arch.	Revue archéologique.
Rev. Belge	Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire.
Rev. Bib.	Revue biblique internationale.
Rev. Celt.	Revue des études celtiques.
Rev. E. A.	Revue des études anciennes.
Rev. E.G.	Revue des études grecques.
Rev. E.J.	Revue des études juives.
Rev. E.L.	Revue des études latines.
Rev. H.	Revue historique.
Rev. N.	Revue numismatique.
Rev. Phil.	Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes.
Rh. Mus.	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.
Riv. Fil.	Rivista di filologia.
Riv. stor. ant.	Rivista di storia antica.
Röm. Mitt.	Mitteilungen des deutschen arch. Inst. Römische Abteilung.
S.B.	Sitzungsberichte.
S.E.G.	Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum.
S.G.D.I.	Sammlung der griechischen Dialektinschriften.
St. Fil.	Studi italiani di filologia classica.
Trans. A.P.A.	Transactions of the American Philological Association.
Wien Anz.	Anzeiger d. Akad. d. Wissenschaften in Wien.
Wien S.B.	Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. d. Wissenschaften in Wien.
Wien. St.	Wiener Studien.
Z. d. Sav.-Stift.	Zeitschrift d. Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechtsgeschichte.
Z.N.	Zeitschrift für Numismatik.



## CHAPTER XIV

## PARTHIA

## I. SOURCES

## I. PRIMARY

Coins of Parthia, Elymais, Characene and Persis (see I, 3).

Greek. (a) Literary texts: Polybius, x, 28-31; fragments of Apollodorus of Artemita, *F.H.G.* iv, p. 308, and of Posidonius, *F.Gr.Hist.* ii, no. 87, frags. 5, 11-13, 71 (pp. 226, 228, 267); Herodicus' epigram, Athen. v, 222 A; Herodorus' ode, Fr. Cumont, *Mémoires de la délégation en Perse*, xx, 1928, p. 89 n. 6.

(b) Inscriptions: O.G.I.S. 430; Fr. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 1910, p. 226; A. Dumont, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie*, 1892, p. 134; B. Haussoullier, *Klio*, ix, 1909, pp. 352 *sqq.* (one also in *Brit. Mus. Inscr.* iv, 2, no. 1052), with M. I. Rostovtzeff's readings, *Yale Classical Studies*, ii, 1930, p. 40. The following, though later, are also material: Fr. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, 1926, nos. 91, 118, 124; *C.R. Ac. Inscr.* 1930, p. 212 (the first poem from Susa in praise of Zamaspes). The second poem, *C. R. Ac. Inscr.* 1931, p. 241, could not be used for this chapter.

(c) Parchments: no. 1 from Avroman, E.H. Minns, *J.H.S.* xxxv, 1915, p. 22 and see above, p. 586, n. 2. Also material, though later, are Fr. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, no. 2, p. 296; M. I. Rostovtzeff and C. B. Welles, *Yale Classical Studies*, ii, 1930.

Latin. Cicero: *de fin.* iii, 75; *de div.* i, 29 *sq.*, ii, 84; *ad Att.* v, 18, 1; 20, 2-4; 21, 2; vi, 5, 3; *ad fam.* xv, 1; 4, 3-7. Sallust, *Hist.* iv, fr. 69 M.

Babylonian. Two astronomical tables (chronicles), S.H. 108 and S.P. 1, 176: F. X. Kugler, *Von Moses bis Paulus*, pp. 339, 342. Tablet of Hyspaosines' reign (see II, C). Contracts and astronomical documents (see II, C).

Chinese. Ssu-ma-ch'ien, *Shi-ki*, ch. 123 (see II, B).

Jewish. 1 Macc. xiv, 1-3; 2 Macc. i, 13.

Aramaic. The inscriptions from Ashur and Hatra (see II, D) are material, though many are later.

## 2. SECONDARY

## (a) Classical

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Strabo, xi, 508-17, 522, 524-5, 532; xvi, 743-5, 748-9.

Diodorus, xxxiii, 18; xxxiv, 15-19, 21.

Justin, xxxvi, 1, xxxviii, 9, 10, xli, xlii, with Trogus' *Prologues*.

Plutarch, *Crassus*; *Sulla*, 5, *Pompey*, 36, 38-9, *Lucullus*, 21, 28, 30, 36; *Moralia*, 184 D, 204 A, 605 B.

Dio Cassius, xxxvi, 1, 3, 45, 51; xxxvii, 5-7; xl, 12-30.

[Livy] represented by: *Epit.* 59, 106; Florus, i, 46; Eutropius, vi, 18; Obsequens, 28, 124; Valerius Maximus, i, 6, 11.

Appian, *Syr.* 51, 67-8; *Mithr.* 104-6; *Bell. Civ.* ii, 65-6, 201.

Josephus, *Ant.* xiii, 184-6, 250-3, 344, 371, 384-6; xiv, 98, 103, 105, 119; *Bell. Jud.* i, 175-9.

Pliny, *N.H.* vi, 44-52, 111-16, 121-2, 134-41, 145-6, and scattered notices.

Orosius, v, 4, 16-17; 10, 8; vi, 13.

Herodian, iii, 1, 2; 4, 8-9; iv, 10, 4; vi, 5, 4-5.

Lucan, *Pharsalia*, viii, 368-410.

Fragments of Arrian, *Parthica*, *F. Gr. Hist.* ii, no. 156, 30-51, and in Roos' *Arrian*; Memnon, *F.H.G.* iii, 541, 549; John of Antioch, *ib.* iv, 661; Phlegon, *F. Gr. Hist.* ii, no. 257, frag. 12, p. 1164; Nicolaus of Damascus, *ib.* no. 90, frags. 79, 92, pp. 378, 381; Porphyry, *ib.* no. 260, pp. 1217 sq.

Notices in Polyaeus, vii, 39-41; Frontinus, ii, 5, 35; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii, 6, 4-6; Athenaeus, 513 f; Aelian, *H.N.* 10, 34; Velleius Paterculus, ii, 46; Suidas, Arsaces, ἀγαθός, θώραξ; Stephanus, Ἀρσασιακαί, Ἀρσασία, Παρθυαῖοι; Hesychius, Βίρραξ; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi, 465. Many allusions to Carrhae in Latin literature.

The description of Parthia in Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*, does not belong to history.

(b) Chinese

*Ts'ien Han Shoo (Annals of the Former Han)*, chs. 96, part 1 and part of 61 (see II, B).

*Hoo Han Shoo (Annals of the Later Han)*, ch. cxviii (*ib.*).

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[The present writer has been unable to see Manfrin, *La cavalleria dei Parti*.]